THE

HISTORY

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PHILIP II. KING OF SPAIN.

VOL. III.

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HISTORY

OF THE

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PHILIP THE SECOND, KING OF SPAIN.

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PRINCIPAL OF THE UNITED COLLEGE OF ST. SALVATOR AND
ST. LEONARDS, IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS.

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HISTORY

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PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN,

And, in order cordupped in war or expenses, and feeling his war to depend on the action of the decimal of the decimal of the second order.

the Union, they conferred upon him the, co-

HE prince of Parma did not neglect BOOK the opportunity which the diffress occafioned by the death of the prince of Orange afforded him, to persuade the confederated provinces to accept of peace. But their distrust of Philip, their attachment to the Protestant faith, and the other causes mentioned above, still retained their influence, and rendered them averse to any reconcilement with a prince, against whom their indignation was more inflamed than ever, by the cruel injury which they had lately fuffered. They could attend to nothing now but how to profecute the war with vigour, or to testify their respect for the memory of the prince of Orange.

Vol. III.

В

WILLIAM'S

B O O K XIX. 1584. Prince Maurice.

WILLIAM's eldest fon, the count of Buren. was still a prisoner in Spain; and his second, prince Maurice, was engaged in the study of literature and science at the university of Levden. On this young man, who, at the time of his father's death, was only eighteen years old, of great hopes, and whose actions afterwards exceeded the most sanguine expectations of his countrymen, the States bestowed the greatest part of the dignities which his father had enjoyed. Besides creating him high-admiral of the Union, they conferred upon him the government of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht, And, in order to supply his want of experience, and secure his being early instructed in the military art, they appointed count Hohenloe, the most accomplished officer in their service, to be his lieutenant or deputy, till he should attain to greater maturity of years and understanding.

Reduction of Bruffels, Ghent, &c. From this conduct of the States, which proved that William's ascendant over them had not terminated with his life, Farnese perceived that it would be impossible to bring the war to a conclusion in any other way than by force of arms. Dismissing therefore all thoughts

³ Grandson, by the mother's side, of the celebrated elector of Saxony of the same name.

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of peace, he proceeded with great activity in 2 0 0 K the military operations which he had begun in Brabant and Flanders: and his fuccess was in proportion to the prudence and vigilance which he exerted. Besides the towns above mentioned, he had lately acquired Vilvorden and Dendremonde, but he had not yet reduced Ghent, Bruffels, or Antwerp. To have proceeded separately against each of those places, in the ordinary way of fieges, would have protracted the war to an excessive length. Instead of that method, he bethought himself of another, which was fuggested by the situation of the feveral towns, and the nature of their refources. This was to make himself master of the banks of the rivers and canals on which they flood, while he fent out flying parties of horse to fcour the adjacent country. And thus he not only put a stop to their trade, without which they could not subsist, but cut off all of them but Antwerp from every fort of communication with other places. For feveral months, however, the inhabitants declined entering into any terms of accommodation. But when they confidered that, unless he were obliged to draw off his troops by the approach of a superior army, they must foon be reduced to the last extremity, their resolution failed, they began to listen more patiently to the exhortations which the fecret partifans of Spain were daily found-

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BOOK XIX.

ing in their ears; and, at length, such of them as were situated in the more interior parts, first Ghent, and afterwards Brussels and some other inland towns, resolved to return under the Spanish government, upon conditions to which Farnese had, on different occasions, shewn himself willing to agree.

Or these conditions, the most important were the following: "That the people should engage to acknowledge no other sovereign but the king of Spain: That no religion but the Roman Catholic should be permitted, but that the Protestants should be allowed to remain in the Netherlands for two years, in order to dispose of their effects: That a sum of money should be paid for defraying the expences of the war: That all past offences should be forgiven, and all the ancient rights and privileges of the inhabitants restored and maintained inviolate."

In fulfilling his part of these conditions, Farnese not only acted with strict sidelity, but displayed a degree of lenity and moderation that was admirably calculated to promote his views. Of the fine of three hundred thousand crowns, to which the people of Ghent confented in their treaty of surrender, he demanded only two hundred thousand. And although in his

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his act of indemnity fix persons, more ob. B. 9.9 noxious than the rest, had been excepted, he required from them only a pecuniary fine. He was likewise at all times willing to listen to the complaints of the Protestants, and to redress their grievances be with the formation and act was

arms of Parmay and on this telephone be and



ALL the confiderable towns in Brabant were Siege of now fubdued, except Antwerp. The Prince had early formed the resolution of laying siege to that important city; and some time before his acquisition of Ghent and Brussels, he had taken measures for beginning it. But in order to secure success, it was necessary that his utmost skill and strength should be exerted; and he now applied himself to the prosecution of his design, with all the anxiety, zeal, and industry, which an object of the highest consequence deserved. Consider the believed approprie

ANTWERP was at this time not only the richest and most splendid, but likewise the strongest city in the Netherlands. As it lies extended along the banks of the Scheld, and the confederates still maintained their superiority at sea, it was thought to be fufficiently secured on one fide by a strong wall which ran parallel to the river; and on the other fides it was fortified by

of the Scheld; and therefore, to deprive

b Meteren, p. 368.

BOOK XIX,

ramparts of extraordinary height, and a ditch filled with water, of such depth and breadth, as in the opinion of those times rendered it almost impregnable.

Such was the judgment formed of it by the prince of Parma, and on this account he did not intend to attempt reducing it by storm, but to have recourse to the slower method of blockade, which he knew must sooner or later prove successful.

On the fide towards the land, he found it extremely eafy to render the blockade complete, as the States had no army able to contend with him in the field, and all the neighbouring towns were in his possession. But these circumstances he perceived would be of little advantage, while the besieged remained masters of the Scheld; and therefore, to deprive them of this resource, was the great object to which all his operations, during this celebrated siege, were directed.

The people at Antwerp had penetrated into his design, and had omitted nothing in their power to prevent him from carrying it into execution. With this view they had constructed two forts, one on each side of the river, about three miles below the town; to one of which they

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they gave the name of Lieffkenfoech, and to BOOK the other that of Lillo. Farnese judged it neceffary to begin his operations with reducing these forts. He sent the Marquis de Roubais against Lieffkensoech, which stood on the Flanders fide of the Scheld, while Mondragon laid fiege to Lillo. Roubais found no great difficulty in fulfilling the general's intention with regard to Lieffkenfoech. But Mondragon's attempt on the fort of Lillo was not attended with the same success. This fort was valiantly defended by colonel Balfour, a Scotch officer of diftinguished merit, and Teligny, the worthy fon of the brave La Noue. After battering the ramparts for feveral days, Mondragon attempted to take the fort by storm, but. was repulsed; and in his repulse, and a fally which the garrison had made some days before, he fustained the loss of no less than two thoufand men.

Upon receiving intelligence of this disaster, the prince of Parma, after settling the government of the towns which he had lately conquered, came himself to view the scene of action. He found that all the time and pains and blood which had been spent in the siege of this fort had been misapplied; and perceived, that as it stood at some distance from the banks,

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b o o k it did not materially interfere with his plan for putting a stop to the navigation of the river.

For this reason, instead of pushing the immediate reduction of it, he was satisfied with blockading it on the land side, so as to prevent the excursions of the garrison.

The prince of Parma's plan for blocking up the Scheld. HAVING given instructions for this purpose, he called a council of his general officers, and laid before them his project for blocking up the Scheld, by building a bridge over it, to intercept the communication between the befieged city and the maritime provinces; an enterprise which, had it failed, would have exposed him to derision, but which shewed the boldness of his genius, and has contributed, more than almost any other of his military atchievements, to raise his character to that exalted rank which it holds in the annals of history.

By most of the officers his proposal was regarded as chimerical. For where, said they, can materials be found for so great an undertaking? And even if they should be found, yet how is it possible to transport them hither? By land-carriage, it is utterly impracticable; nor would it seem to be much easier by water, while the enemy possesses so great a superiority

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in naval force. Besides that, no beams, they Book observed, were of sufficient length to reach the bottom of the river.

of Provident how how the trees with the sense To build a bridge of ships, they thought. would be equally impracticable, because he did not possess so great a number as was neceffary, and it would be impossible to collect them from different places, in the face of a vigilant enemy, of a superior naval strength. And even allowing it were possible, either with beams or ships to construct such a bridge as was projected, yet it would be quickly destroyed by the ice, or by the tides and ftorms, or by the Libraria de la baseção oficia dora enemy.

Bur Farnese, conscious of resources in the fertility of his genius, of which his officers could form no idea, was not discouraged by these objections. He considered that the meafure on which he had refolved was the only one by which Antwerp could be reduced, and that till he should reduce that city, and thereby get possession of a naval force, the towns lately acquired (which usually carried on their trade by the way of Antwerp) must suffer the greatest inconveniencies, and it would be in vain for him to attempt the conquest of the maritime provinces.

DETERMINED

BOOK XIX. Determined by these considerations, he proceeded instantly to make the preparations necessary for executing his design. Having first sounded the river, and measured its breadth in different places, he sound, that between the village of Ordham in Brabant, and Caloo in Flanders, it was neither so deep nor so broad, as above or below. At this place therefore he resolved to build a bridge. And he began with raising two strong forts, opposite to each other on the different sides of the river, besides several redoubts, on which, as well as on the forts, he planted a great number of cannon, to defend the bridge when sinished, and to protect the workmen while engaged in building it.

In the mean time he ransacked all the country round for materials, and had the good fortune to find at Dendremonde and Ghent, great quantities of every thing requisite for the intended work. If he could have conveyed his materials to Caloo down the Scheld, a great expence of labour and time would have been faved. This he repeatedly attempted; but he soon found that it was impossible to escape the vigilance of the citizens, who being directed in all their operations by St. Aldegonde, lay in wait for his boats near Antwerp, and either took or destroyed them.

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In order to avoid the repetition of this dif- 9 00 after, Farnese made, on the Flanders side near Borcht, which stands higher than Antwerp, a large cut in the dyke of the Scheld, by which he laid all the neck of land between Borcht and Caloo under water; opening an egress for the water by another cut near Caloo, and transporting his apparatus for the bridge across the inundation. This expedient rendered it unneceffary for his boats to pass by Antwerp, and they likewife arrived fooner at their destined port.

Bur St. Aldegonde having built a redoubt on the Brabant fide, opposite to the cut at Borcht, and stationed some armed vessels to cruise there, soon rendered the passage as difficult as before. Farnese was therefore obliged to adopt another experiment, much more laborious than the former, but which he knew would certainly be attended with fuccess. This was to dig a canal fifteen Italian miles in length, to join the inundation just now mentioned, with a little river which falls into the Scheld at Ghent. That he might finish this arduous undertaking the more speedily, he fixed his head-quarters at Beveren, in the neighbourhood of the canal, and was perpetually prefent himfelf, exhorting and encouraging the workmen; and fometimes taking the spade and pick-axe into his own hand,

BOOK hand. The work was finished with wonderful expedition, and fully answered his expectation. As the enemy could have no access either to the canal, or the river with which it communicated, he conveyed all necessary materials and engines from Ghent without opposition, and immediately afterwards began the construction of the bridge.

Description of the bridge.

THE two extremities of this edifice were formed of huge beams, driven into the bottom of the river by the force of engines, and ftrongly bound together by other transverse or cross beams. This part of the work, called the stacados or estacados, ran from each side of the river towards the middle of it, as far as the depth of the water would allow; which on the Flanders fide was two hundred feet, and on the other, nine hundred. These stacados were only twelve feet broad, except towards the two extremities, next the centre of the river, where their breadth being increased to forty feet, two forts were erected upon them, and furnished with artillery. The whole was covered at top with strong planks, and a parapet five feet high, of the thickest planks, was raised upon it for the fecurity of the foldiers. A row of piles was then driven deep into the bottom of the river, parallel to each of the stacados, at the distance of a few feet from them, and strongly

Arongly fastened to the beams of which they BOO were composed. Besides which, another row of long beams pointed with iron, was placed horizontally a little above the furface of the water; stretching out to a considerable length from the bridge on both fides, fo as to make it dangerous for ships to approach.

- By this part of the work, the navigation of the river was confiderably straitened; but as there was an open space in the middle, between the heads of the estacados, of more than one thousand two hundred and fifty feet, the enemy's ships, taking advantage sometimes of the night, and fometimes of the wind and tide, continued, though not without loss, to pass and repass as formerly; and the city was still abundantly supplied with provisions. Farnese having from the beginning intended to fill up the intermediate space with ships, had with great difficulty collected two and thirty, which he judged to be a fufficient number. These veffels, after the masts had been taken out, were placed with their sides parallel to each other, at the distance of about twenty feet. They were strongly fastened together by chains, and were fixed in their places by anchors at both ends, in fuch a manner that the failors could shorten . or lengthen their cables, as the tide either rose or fell. Over the intermediate spaces, strong

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beams went from one ship to another. Above these were laid planks; and the same fort of parapet was erected, as that which was raised on the stacados. Thirty soldiers and sour sailors were put on board each ship, and all the ships were planted with artillery.

For the greater fecurity of this part of the work, a flota one thousand two hundred feet long was constructed of barks, bound together in the same manner as the ships of which the bridge was formed, with the same fort of beams pointed with iron, resembling a file of pikes, stretching from that end of the barks which lay next to the enemy. These barks were filled with empty casks, to prevent them from being sunk, and were fixed in their place by anchors. Of this kind of slota, two were constructed, consisting each of two and thirty barks, one above, and the other below the bridge, at the distance of two hundred yards.

This stupendous work furnished employment to the prince of Parma's fleet and army for more than half a year. Without a fleet of considerable strength it could not have been executed, and the procuring of this fleet in such disadvantageous circumstances, was one of the

e It was finished February 1585.

many striking proofs which Farnese exhibited BOOK on this occasion, of that extraordinary activity and enterprise by which his character is so eminently diftinguished. With infinite labour and difficulty he had equipped, at Ghent and Dunkirk, forty armed vessels, and put them under the command of the Marquis de Roubais; who being well supported by the forts and redoubts on the banks of the river, protected the workmen, in fpite of the most vigorous efforts which the belieged could make to interrupt them.

FARNESE however would not probably have fucceeded in his enterprise, if the United States had exerted themselves with vigour, proportioned either to that of the enemy, or to the importance of the prize contested. It now appeared how great was the loss which the confederacy had sustained in the death of the prince of Orange. By William's fuperior rank, wifdom, and experience, some turbulent leaders had been restrained, who, after his death, indulged their factious, interested spirit, without regard to the pernicious confequences which might enfue. Among these was Treslong, whom the States had appointed commander of the fleet, destined for the relief of Antwerp. This man, whether from treachery or from private resentment, paid no regard to his instructions:

BOOK fiructions; but on different pretences, at first delayed putting the orders of the States in execution; and at last told them that he would not fail, unless some persons with whom he had quarrelled were removed from the magistracy. On this occasion, prince Maurice called an affembly of the States of the province, dismissed Treslong from his employment, and put him under arrest. The command of the fleet was then given to count Hohenloe; but the time in which its operations might have proved effectual, was past; and the bridge, with all its fortifications, as above described, was almost finished.

Confternation of the efieged.

No words can express the astonishment which it excited in the minds of the besieged. At the commencement of the work, they had regarded it rather as an object of derision, than as fitted to excite any ferious apprehension or alarm. Their anxiety and terror now were in proportion to their former confidence and fecurity. They faw an entire stop put to their trade in every quarter. They already felt many of the inconveniences of a fiege. Their imaginations represented, in the most dreadful light, the calamities which they were about to fuffer; and persons of all ranks began to talk of the necessity of preventing them in time, by making their peace with the enemy. But they

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were divided from forming any fixed dresolution 1 00 by St. Aldegionde, who employed all his cloquence and address to rouse their abhorrence of the Spanish woke, and to inspire them with the hopes of being able to raise the siege.

"Iw is not furprifing! faid he, in an affembly Speech of of those who held public offices in the town; goods. that many of our fellow-citizens should tremble at the prospect of those hardships which usually attend a long continued flege, But while we cast our eyes forward to these, let us reflect on the calamities which we have reason to dread from a furrender. We have feen, within thefe few years, two memorable fieges, the fiege of Haerlem, and that of Leyden. The people of Haerlem, rather than submit to the last extremities, chose to throw themselves on the mercy of the Spaniards. But how bitterly did they repent of their having done to? And how much better had it been to have fallen in the field of battle, than to fuffer, as fo great a number of the bravest did, that ignominious death, to which they were doomed by the cruel Spaniard? The inhabitants of Leyden; on the other hand, resolved; rather to die, than to deliver themfelves up to fuch a perfidious enemy; and the consequence of their adhering to this resolution, was, that the fiege was raifed, and a period put to all their miseries. Can we hesitate in deciding Vot. III.

8 0 0 K ciding which of these examples we ought to follow? Is not death more eligible than fubmission to the dominion of an enemy, from whom we have endured fuch intelerable outhopes of heing able to raile the flege, rage?

> "Ir this city shall fall again under the yoke of these oppressors, can we doubt that the citadel will be reftored, and with it all the tyranny which they were wont to exercise ? Will not our religion be profcribed, and the inquifition established? This illustrious city will then become a colony of Spaniards. Her commerce will be ruined, and her inhabitants obliged to wander in fearch of places of abode, forlorn and indigent. But why should I thus describe the difasters of a surrender? There is still no reason for despair. It is impossible that this bridge can stand long against the efforts which we shall make for its destruction. Let us not therefore be wanting to ourselves; but with a fixed unalterable purpose, let us embrace the glorious alternative of liberty or death." And Hovard

> By these exhortations, joined to the respect in which his character was held, St. Aldegonde gained over the citizens to a perfect conformity with his fentiments; and perfuaded them to renew the oath, which they had formerly taken, never to return under the dominion of the King

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of Spain. An edict was then published, prohibiting all persons, under the severest penalties, from liftening to any terms of accommodation that might be offered; after which they proceeded with redoubled ardour to put in practice fuch expedients as had been devised for the demolition of the bridge. the partition to the

In order to effectuate this, they had been Preparafor fome time past employed in preparing firefhips, under the direction of Giambelli, a ce- demolithing lebrated Italian engineer, who appears to have been the author of this invention. They were formed of the thickest planks, and had each of them a mine or chamber in the middle. This mine was built in the ftrongest manner, and filled with gun-powder, and with rugged stones, bullets, and fuch other weighty materials, rammed hard and close, on purpose to increase the reliftance and augment the force of the Leftenforch, as it good the county nondered defiger of the far igation of the river below the

tions of the

THE cirizens laboured at the fame time in constructing a flat-bottomed vessel of extraordinary ftrength and fize, with which they intended to attack the forts and redoubts on the banks of the river. This enormous machine was more properly a floating caffle than a ship, and the town's people had, on account of the fanguine expectations which they conceived

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B O O K from it, given it the name of the " end of the war."

WHILE the people of Antwerp were thus employed, the confederates who lay at Lillo, under count Hohenloe, made a vigorous attack on the fort of Lieffkenfoech, and compelled the garrison to surrender. From Lieffkensoech, they proceeded against another fort of the name of St. Antony, which they likewise reduced with the fame facility. When intelligence was brought to the prince of Parma of their descent, he set out with a detachment of his army to oppose their progress, but both the forts had furrendered before he could arrive. Being enraged against the commanders of these forts, on account of their having made too feeble a relift. ance, he ordered them both to be beheaded on the dyke of the Scheld, in fight of the enemy. He was the more concerned for the loss of Lieffkenfoech, as it gave the enemy free poffession of the navigation of the river below the bridge, and thereby tended to facilitate the execution of any defign which they might form for its destruction.

Ar first he imagined that the solicitude which the consederates had shewn for the recovery of Liesskensoech, had proceeded from their intending to make an attempt upon the lower

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fide of the bridge. But it foon appeared, that BOOK their only view was to fecond the operations of the belieged, and to complete that ruin which they expected the explosion of the fire-ships would certainly produce. Contribute the contrived the und personner; as to

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THESE vessels were fent down the river, with a favourable wind and tide, on the fourth of April. The Spaniards, who had got fome imperfect intelligence of their nature, were filled with the most anxious expectations. They knew them to be the fire-ships from their unufual appearance, and were variously affected, according to the various conjectures which they formed of the effects that were about to be produced. But they were all alike prompted by curiofity, to behold a spectacle which had never been exhibited in any siege before. And the banks of the river, the forts and redoubts, and even the bridge itself, were crowded with fpectators, stone to vasa bear against ab lione

Or feveral veffels which Giambelli had prepared, only two were constructed in the manner above mentioned, the one of which contained in its mine fix thousand, pounds of gun-powder, and the other, feven thousand five hundred pounds. One of them rap ashore before it reached the bridge. But the other being more fortunate in its direction, was

C 3 driven.

unon the banks of the to

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driven towards that part of the bridge, where the stacado on the Flanders side was united to the ships. A great number of the Spanish tofficers and foldiers had the courage to jump on board, in order to extinguish the train, which Giambelli had contrived in such a manner, as to require an hour before it could reach the mine. The prince of Parma had advanced a little way on the stacado, to wait for the event, but was prevailed upon by his officers to retire. He had fearcely entered the neighbouring fort when the explosion happened, with a noise more dreadful than the loudest thunder. A sudden darkness overspread the region round. The ground shook as in an earthquake. The river, disturbed in its course, was thrown over its dikes, and poured into the fort of Caloo with inconceivable violence. Not only fuch of the Spaniards perished as had ventured to go on board the fire-ships, but all those too who were upon the bridge, and many of those who flood upon the banks of the river. No language can describe the horror of the scene which prefented itself after the smoke was dispelled. The bridge, and both the furface and the banks of the river, were covered with the dead and wounded; whose bodies were disfigured in a thousand hideous ways by the smoke and flames, and the various instruments of detopromote in its direction, was ftruction navis,

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hundred men were killed, and a great number maimed and dangeroully wounded. Among the killed were many officers of distinction; but no person perished, so deeply lamenteed by the prince of Parma, as the Marquis de Roubais, the general of the horse; a nobleman distinguished by many shining accomplishments, brave, active, and expert both in the arts of peace and war; once an enemy of Spain; but who, prompted by jealousy of the prince of Orange, had abandoned the cause of liberty, and shewn for some years past no less zeal in reducing his countrymen under the Spanish yoke, than he had discovered formerly in afferting their independence. It was not only

losses of this kind which the prince of Parma sustained on this occasion. The bridge like-wise suffered considerable damage. Six of the ships which composed the middle part of it, were burnt; some were forced from their stations, and others turned with their keels upper-

Ir the confederates had improved the opportunity which this havor afforded them, the whole work might have been demolished; and in that case, a prediction of the prince of Orange would have been sulfilled, that if Farnese with so small an army should undertake

most, and dashed to pieces.

ftruction with which the Ihip was ftored. Eight B O O & North Hundred men were killed, and a great number mainted and dangerously wounded Among

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9,9 K the fiege of Antwerp, it would prove his ruin. But, as was observed by the old experienced Mondragone, it appeared from many circumstances in the conduct of the confederates in this fiege that the prince of Orange was prince of let a as the Marous de Rossina

the meneral of the norfe; a nobleman diffin-

By some strange fatality, or some unaccountable inadvertence, or, as one historian infinuates, by a mifunderstanding between the magistrates of Antwerp and the admiral of the Antwerp fleet, those fire-ships which had cost so great an expence of money, ingenuity, time and pains, were fent down the Scheld before any concert had been formed with the confederates at Lillo; who were therefore unprepared to fecond that mighty effort which had been made for opening the navigation of the river.—Giambelli, though extremely folicitous to know the fuecess of his invention, remained entirely ignorant of it for two days. A large reward was offered to those who should venture to go down the river for intelligence. But none had courage to advance far enough to make any certain discovery, nor did the citizens know any thing of what had happened till the third night after, when they received information of it by a messenger from count Hohenloe.

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THE prince of Parma was in the mean time employed in repairing the bridge, and he exerted himfelf with fo much activity and vigour, that it was made as ftrong as ever before the belieged were acquainted with the damage which it had fultained. His late experience fuggested to him an alteration in the work, which was found afterwards of great importance: this was to remove the flotas, and to form that part of the bridge which was composed of the ships, in such a manner that, in case the enemy should repeat their experiment, it might be opened at different places to let the fire-ships pass through and continue their course down the river and of follow must reside the

THE spirits of the besieged were still sup- Other atported by the fanguine hopes which they had the befieged conceived from that enormous vessel, which they called The end of the war. This huge machine was entirely the work of the citizens, and was not approved of either by Giambelli or St. Aldegonde. It was found, on trial, too unwieldy to answer the purpose for which it was intended. After planting the lower part of it with cannon, and filling the higher part with musketeers, they made an attack upon one of the Spanish redoubts; but they failed in their attempt, and the machine itself was fo much

more certain effecti er

B O O K XIX. much shattered, as to be rendered almost unsit for future use.

Ar Giambelli's defire, the senate of Antwerp had again recourse to their first expedient of fire-ships; but the enemy having learnt the nature of these machines, employed different means to render them ineffectual. They laid hold of them as soon as they appeared, and sometimes extinguished the trains, and sometimes dragged the vessels to the banks of the river, or through the openings in the bridge.

GIAMBELLI then bethought himself of another device, from which he believed that forme more certain effect might be expected. Having bound together in one compacted body fifteen ships armed with pointed beams, and with feythes or falchions, for cutting the chains and cordage of the bridge, he fent them accompanied with fire-ships down the river when the wind and tide were combined and favourable. The shock which this contrivance produced was very great, but through the wife precaution which Farnese had taken, by making the openings just now mentioned, together with the unexampled boldness of his foldiers in laying hold of the fire-ships, the bridge received no greater damage than could be quickly repaired.

paired. Some other expedients were proposed \$ 0.01 by Giambelli, but the senate was deterred from adopting them, partly by the expence and time requifite to prepare his machines, and partly by the difficulty of finding mariners and foldiers willing to expose themselves to the danger with which the putting his inventions in practice would have been attended mos sine motional

en rach ance of the costs Believed a decrease

THERE remained now for the belieged only The Counter-dyke of one resource, to which, if they had given proper Couvestein, attention in the beginning, all the anxiety, expence and labour, which they bestowed in attempting to demolish the bridge, might have been faved. In order to form a clear conception of what will be faid on this interesting part of the present subject, it is necessary to remember that the ground on the north fide of the Scheld, between Antwerp and Lillo, is much lower than the rest of the country; and were it not for the dyke of the river would every tide be overflowed. This ground is generally covered with water in many places, but in other parts it furnishes pasture for a great number of cattle with which the Antwerp market is fupplied. Through the middle of this plain there runs from the village of Couvestein, where the country begins to rife, to the great dyke of the Scheld, a smaller dyke, called the Counterdyke of Couveftein, which had been formed to ferve

BOOK for a road or causeway. The confederates at Lilla could, by opening the dyke of the Scheld, lay all the ground under water between Lillo and the counterdyke, while the befreged could, with the same facility, introduce the river into that part of the plain which lies between the counterdyke and Antwerp; and thus, by breaking down the counterdyke, the inundations on each fide of it could be united, and a free navigation opened between Antwerp and one refource, to which, if they but given palling

attention in the begiening all the enview, ex-

THE reader will easily perceive, that while the bridge stood, the fate of Antwerp depended entirely on the counterdyke; and that, in case the confederates could make themselves masters of it, they might bid defiance to the prince of Parma, and without anxiety fuffer him to retain possession of the bridge. If, in the beginning, they had believed it practicable for him to execute his defign of blocking up the river, they could have fortified themselves on the counterdyke in fuch a manner, that, with the affiftance of the inundation, they would have baffled his most vigorous efforts to expel them. But they were deceived by the contempt which they entertained of his intended enterprise, and did not perceive their error in neglecting to occupy this important flation till it was too late. The prince of Parma had already seized

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upon it, and taken every necessary precaution against the attempts which he doubted not they would, sooner or later, make to wrest it from him. He committed the charge of defending it to two of his most vigilant officers, Mondragone and Mansvelt. He ordered it to be made broader and higher than it was before. He stransversely, and he erected several forts upon it, besides planting redoubts on the dyke of the Scheld, with which he intended to take the enemy in stank, in case they should venture to approach.

cained in the late attacks, but vifited every de-THE confederates, however, despairing of being able to demolish the bridge, resolved, if possible, to dislodge him from the counterdyke. And their first attempt, after laying the ground on each fide of it under water, was made in the beginning of May by count Hohenloe. That general had formed the plan of this attack in concert with St. Aldegonde, who was to have co-operated with him, and had agreed to fet fail with the Antwerp fleet immediately after lighting up, on a tower in the city, three fires, as a fignal of his departure. By a mife take of the person to whom the charge of this egnal was committed, it was exhibited before the time, and through this untoward accident count Hohenloe was left alone in the execu-

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tion of his enterprize. He conducted it however with vigour, and laid one of the forts and a part of the counterdyke in ruins; after which he thought it prudent to retire, and to referve his forces unimpaired till the belieged should be ready to fecond his operations. This unfortunate attempt ferved only to roule the prince of Parma to greater vigilance and exertion. Agreeably to his conjectures, he faw that the principal efforts of the enemy would henceforth be directed against the counterdyke: and, therefore, he not only applied himself with diligence to repair the damage which it had fultained in the late attack, but visited every day all the redoubts and forts, and reinforced the garrisons with chosen troops taken from the feveral nations of which his army was compofed. attribut after after laving the globa but. ow webser of

The confederates at Lillo, and the people of Antwerp, were in the mean time indefatigable in making preparations for another attack. St. Aldegonde stood almost single in his opinion on this occasion, and endeavoured to convince his countrymen, that it would be easier for them to destroy the bridge itself, than to make themselves masters of the counterdyke, in opposition to an enemy so much upon their guard, and so strongly fortisted. But having, since their disappointment with regard to the effect

effect of the fire-ships, been accustomed to confider the bridge as impregnable, they were deaf to whatever he could advance upon the subject, and he was oblighed to concur (which he did with all his wonted activity) in the execution of that design of which the majority approved ollo Spaniards then discovered the artistre are which



Towards the end of May every thing was Battleotta prepared, both at Answerp and Lillo, that was dyke. shought necessary to secure success, and, on the 26th of that month, count Honenloe, according to concert with St. Aldegonde, failed from Lillo early in the morning, with a fedadron of more than a hundred flips, having on board a numerous body of troops, under the command of the most experienced officers in the United Provinces 499file refolved to make his atmek at the broadeff pare of the counterdyke, between the two middle fores, called the Fort of the Pallifades and Fort Se George, where there was room to entreneli his troops. In order to facilitate his landing, he fent before him four veffels refembling firefhips, with some trains of gun-powder, to which the foldiers, who were concealed within fee Are. This device produced the defigued effects The Spaniards taking the finoke and flame for

plies of fielh men from the ships and here, and Iuftin de Naffau, Ifelitein, Fremin, Morgan, and Bals Both St. Aldegonde and Hohenlos ming 1999

B O. O. K. XIX.

from that part of the dyke to which they faw the vessels approaching. The confederates in the mean time advanced, and landed between seven and eight hundred men, who were quickly followed by all the rest of the forces. The Spaniards then discovered the artifice by which they had been deceived, and immediately returning, attempted to recover the station which they had left. An obstinate and bloody action ensued, while the contending parties were supported on the one side by the cannon of the sleet, and on the other by those of the forts on the counterdyke.

besed a numerous head In the midft of this contest St. Aldegonde arrived with the fleet from Antwerp, which was nearly as numerous as that from Lillo. The confederates being thus powerfully reinforced. kept possession of the ground which they had gained, and while fome of them fought, others were employed in cutting the counterdyke, and in raising temporary defences of piles of wood, and facks of earth and wool, against the fire of the enemy. The combatants being cooped up in a narrow space, every stroke and shot did execution. But they received continual supplies of fresh men from the ships and forts, and their courage was fuperior to every danger. Both St. Aldegonde and Hohenloe mingled with

with the combatants, and by their example and BOOK exhortations nourished the desperate and intrepid ardour of the foldiers, "" This is the laft difficulty, cried St. Aldegonde, which remains to be furmounted. Perfift as you have begun, and Antwerp, that bulwark of our confederacy, will foon be delivered. Your liberty, your future fafety, and every thing dear and facred, depend on the fuccess of your present enterprise. We have now no choice left but victory or death and block in the day or well as herein ellessingle and joy, and the people flocked to

THE Spanish generals were at no less pains to animate their troops. Both Mondragone and Mansvelt, though worn out with age and the fatigues of a long continued warfare, difplayed on this occasion the highest degree of valour and intrepidity. But, notwithstanding their most vigorous exertions, the confederates still maintained their ground. They twice repulsed the Italians and Spaniards. Of the materials which they had brought along with them, they raifed a confiderable bulwark against the enemy's artillery. They made feveral openings in the counterdyke, and were fo confident of victory, that St. Aldegonde and count Hohenloe, after affigning to the feveral officers their respective stations, set fail for Antwerp in a ship which had passed through one of these openings, and entered the city in triumph. VOL. III.

B O O K XIX. 1585. Their design, it is said, was to consult with the magistrates concerning some suture measures which they thought necessary to be pursued. But what the particular motives were, which determined the commanders in chief to leave their troops at this crisis, is not told by the co-temporary historians; and we are lest to suspect two men, of vanity and solly, whose general conduct surnishes not the smallest ground for so unsavourable an imputation. They were received at Antwerp with the highest transports of gratitude and joy, and the people slocked to the harbour, impatiently expecting the arrival of the supplies of provisions which they believed to be near at hand.

But this joy was of short duration: the prince of Parma was for some time ignorant of what had passed. Having watched all the preceding night, he had gone in the morning to his head-quarters at Beveren, and retired to rest; but being soon awaked by the noise of the guns, he selected a body of troops, and immediately marched to the place of action.

the succession of a long continued

On his arrival, he viewed with indignation the enemy in possession of the counterdyke. He rushed forward at the head of his battalion, and sighing, exclaimed, "Where, my fellow-foldiers, is now your wonted intrepidity? Are you

you not ashamed thus to yield to an enemy you BOOK have fo often conquered, and in one hour to lose the fruit of all your labours? Let who will follow me: I shall either die, or conquer." Having spoken these words, he advanced towards the enemy with a fword in one hand, and a buckler in the other. The danger to which he was exposed, inflamed his troops to a degree of madness. They returned to the charge with redoubled fury, and, in spite of the most intrepid resistance, they drove the confederates along the counterdyke, till they came to the place where their companions were intrepched: there they stopped. The dispute was desperate, and the confederates, being reinferced with fresh troops from their ships, once more compelled the Spaniards to retire: but Farnese, whose ardour was unabated, still urging and impelling them, the attack was instantly renewed, and the Spaniards proved at last victorious.

Ir was now only within their intrenchment that the confederates retained possession of the counterdyke. The prince of Parma and his troops were aware of the difficulty which they must encounter, in attacking an intrenchment defended by men who from the beginning had displayed the most determined bravery; yet they boldly advanced amidst an incessant fire

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B O O K XIX.

both from the ships and the intrenchment. Great numbers sell: still, however, they continued to advance; and whilst those who were in the rear maintained a constant fire upon the enemy, the foremost ranks were employed in demolishing the fortification.

This fortification was at the fame time attacked, on the other side, by two battalions fent against it by count Mansvelt, the one confifting of Spaniards and the other of Italians, who vied with each other in giving the most conspicuous proofs of their contempt of danger. The leaders of these battalions, Capisucchi and Toralva, were the first who entered the intrenchments; and foon afterwards the troops under the prince of Parma entered it on the other fide. The confederates, though thus deprived of all defence, still continued to fight desperately, till perceiving that the tide was going back, and that their ships were beginning to put off to a greater distance, while fresh Spaniards were pouring in upon them from both ends of the counterdyke, their courage failed, and they attempted to fave themfelves by getting on board their boats and ships.

The confederates are defeated.

THE Spaniards, not satisfied with this victory, flung themselves from the counterdyke, and

and purfued the fugitives as far as the depth of BOOK the water would allow. No quarter was given to those whom they overtook. The counterdyke, and the water on both fides of it, were covered with the flain, and many fell with difhonourable wounds, who for feveral hours together had given incontestible evidence of the most heroic valour. The number of the killed on the fide of the confederates amounted to two thousand five hundred, and that on the other fide, to one thousand. The recovery of the. counterdyke was not the only advantage which Farnese derived from his present victory: he likewife got possession of more than thirty of the enemy's ships, with all the artillery and engines that were on board. Immediately after which he proceeded to fill up the breaches in the counterdyke, and to repair the damage which his fortifications had fuftained.

The besieged, being thus cruelly disappointed in their hopes of deliverance, were overwhelmed with consternation and despair. By their late great exertions, their internal resources were exhausted, and they had little prospect of any foreign aid that could arrive in time to prevent the necessity of surrendering. They had not indeed as yet experienced those intolerable miseries which attend on samine in a place besieged; but they foresaw that ere

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B O O K XIX.

long these miseries must certainly overtake them, and they considered, that to delay making peace with the enemy, could only ferve to increase the difficulty of obtaining favourable terms. Such were the fentiments of great numbers of every condition, notwithstanding the folemn engagement under which they had lately come, of never submitting to the Spanish government. St. Aldegonde, and the other magistrates, laboured to remove their apprehenfions, by affuring them, that not only their friends in the maritime provinces were preparing forces to relieve them, but that the queen of England intended to exert herfelf in their behalf. St. Aldegonde himself appears to have been animated with this hope, and for feveral weeks it had the effect which he defired on the minds of the citizens; but their patience being at last worn out, they affembled in a tumultuous manner, and peremptorily required that ambaffadors should be appointed to treat of a fur-The magistrates, though extremely reluctant, found it necessary to comply with their request; and accordingly St. Aldegonde, and feveral others of the principal inhabitants, were fent to the Spanish camp.

Capitulation of Antwerp. They were received by the prince of Parma in the most gracious manner, and much more favourable terms of accommodation were offered,

BOOK XIX.

fered, than they had reason to expect. Various motives concurred in determining this prudent general to act on the present occasion with the utmost degree of moderation which the King's instructions would allow; for, belides that the granting of equitable conditions to the citizens of Antwerp would contribute to facilitate his future conquests, he considered that his troops had fuffered great diminution fince the commencement of the fiege; that, by accidents which he could not foresee, the bridge might be demolished; that he had with much difficulty relifted the efforts which the confederates had already made; that still greater exertions were to be apprehended from despair; and that the belieged, if compelled by feverity to imitate the example of Haerlem or Leyden, might refift his most strenuous endeavours to reduce them, till the queen of England, who was deliberating on the fubject, fliould refolve to espouse their cause.

Moveo by these considerations, Farnese shewed himself not only willing, but even defirous, to bring the treaty of surrender speedily to a conclusion; but the ambassadors of the besieged, still stattering themselves with the hopes of assistance, studied to put it off as long as possible; nor was the capitulation signed till within three days of the time when the whole

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B O O K XIX. 1585. stock of provisions in the city would have been confumed. This circumstance had been carefully concealed from the citizens, as well as from the prince of Parma, and was known only to the magistrates and masters of police. It had not therefore the smallest influence on the terms of peace, which were as favourable now as if the surrender had been made some months before.

In some respects they were more favourable than even those which had been granted to Ghent and Bruges. Whereas the Protestants of these places had been permitted to continue only two years, in order to fettle their affairs; in Antwerp they were allowed to remain four; and although Antwerp was much richer than any of the other cities, and the expence of the fiege infinitely greater, yet he demanded a fine of only four hundred thousand guilders for the payment of his troops. All the prisoners were fet at liberty; all past offences were forgiven, and no exception whatever was made in the general act of indemnity; nor was any personal restrictions laid upon any of the citizens, except St. Aldegonde, who was required to engage, that he would not carry arms against the king of Spain for the space of a year. This circumstance had the appearance of a punishment inflicted on this diftinguished patriot; but

but it ought to be considered rather as a mark B 9.0 of respect and honour, since it implied an acknowledgment of his superior merit, and difcovered the dread which his enemies entertained of his abilities. Autwerps, and mor their

NOTWITHSTANDING this public testimony which St. Aldegonde received from the Spaniards, he was accused of having delivered up the town without necessity; and so rash and illinformed were the States of Holland and Zealand on this occasion, that they forbade him to take up his residence within their territories. Being conscious of having acted with perfect integrity, he paid no regard to their interdiction, but soon after the surrender set out for Zealand, where he required the States to produce his accusers, and to try him openlys; and as no accuser ever ventured to appear, he published a vindication of his conduct, calculated to put his enemies to filence, and to fhew that, instead of censure, he had merited the highest the removal of to great a number

THE ill-humour which the maritime provinces discovered on this occasion, in their inju-

The account here given is taken from Meteren, the best informed of all the historians in matters relative to Antwerp. It differs materially from that of Reidanus.

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B O O K XIX. ftock of provisions in the city would have been confumed. This circumstance had been carefully concealed from the citizens, as well as from the prince of Parma, and was known only to the magistrates and masters of police. It had not therefore the smallest influence on the terms of peace, which were as favourable now as if the surrender had been made some months before.

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HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF

B O O K XIX.

rious treatment of a perfon fo beloved and popular as St. Aldegonde, proves the error of those who affert that these provinces were not displeased that the Spaniards had got possession of Antwerp, and that their jealousy of that commercial city was the cause why they did not exert themselves with greater vigour to preferve it. As the circumstances above explained feem to afford a full account of their inactivity in the beginning of the flege, fo, towards the close of it, it should seem they did every thing for the relief of the befieged, which they could have done in their own defence. The only object of their dread at this time was the power of Spain. They could not but confider Antwerp as a bulwark against that power, and they could not foresee those commercial advantages. which they derived afterwards from the reduction of that wealthy city under the Spanish yoke.

Brabant deferted by many of its inhabitants.

They soon experienced these advantages, by the removal of so great a number of the inhabitants of Brabant and Flanders to Amsterdam and Middleburg, that it became necessary to extend the walls of those cities in order to contain them. And thus the trade of the confederated States was greatly augmented, while that of the southern provinces received a wound, of which it never afterwards recovered. The prince

prince of Parma had provided carefully against B 0.0 K this event, so fatal to the prosperity of his late acquifitions, by the length of time which he allowed to the Protestants for disposing of their effects, and by the mildness of his administration; but, besides that their aversion to the Spanish government was become unconquerable, and that for some years past they had tafted the fweets of liberty, they were too fincerely attached to the reformed religion, to bear the thoughts of ever complying with the Catholic, or even to endure those restraints to which it behoved them, during their ftay at Antwerp, to submit. Philip's bigotry had, in the time of the duke of Alva, transplanted great numbers of his fubjects, together with their wealth and manufactures, into foreign states, and it now increased the power of the revolted provinces, at the expence of those which had returned to their allegiance. The Dutch began, not long after this period, to push their commerce to a greater extent than ever. They were more able than formerly to support the burden of the war; and in a few years afterwards they found themselves in a capacity, not only to defend their infant state, but to attack their powerful adversary, with splendor and success, in the most distant regions of the globe.

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prince of Pawas in Case and config and the state of the state of particular acounted in the charge of the called The transfer of the second second beautiful and the second beautiful as the second second beautiful as the second chiefe, and by the sale was of the sale of tion so the same of the same as the same of the same Spanish approximated year bear an encountered able, out one for sion roll and the light, while the decree of the care to be well and ci in Mar Searcher of the co-badonia Marai bear one therebes of over complete and the Carata de la caración de la compania de la compania D to will shall propolition and boweled of golder Aircream and their with the Lightly but the some tembered in the said the state of the partition which is a thirth to prove the man Mercial for the analysis trees. They there is there real in their increased that nower of the liverage of this soul to one or the to me or the nor long on folias dels rate and room meier in a creater extrust than even to hav wer The state of the control of the state of the of the work was a circle a red and to for the real principle of the Country of the Countr foul designation and a section of the factor her and the second of the seco aroly may some sample and he hom

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LTHOUGH the prosperity of the BOO United Provinces was, in the iffue, greatly augmented by that increase of inhabitants which they received from the conquered United Pr towns; yet, at the present period, their situation was more alarming and critical than it had ever been fince the commencement of the war. The prince of Parma was an enemy more formidable in every respect than the duke of Alva; fuperior to him in military, and still more in political abilities; and the more to be dreaded by the confederacy, on account of the moderation and equity which he displayed in his treatment of the people who had submitted to his arms. Almost the whole of Brabant and Flanders.

B O O K XX.

ders, except Sluys and Ostend, was already conquered; and by his reduction of Antwerp, he had acquired a numerous sleet, which he knew well how to make subservient to the operations of his land-forces, in the further profecution of the war.

They offer the fovereignty to the king of France.

THE States were more sensible than ever of their inability to defend themselves, without the affiftance of fome foreign power. In their treaty with the duke of Anjou, they had difcovered great folicitude in guarding against the annexation of the provinces to the crown of France; but soon after the death of the prince of Orange, they were perfuaded that with their most strenuous efforts it would be impossible for them long to preserve their independence, and that they must either submit to Philip, or become the subjects of some other sovereign, possessed of power sufficient to defend them. Having towards the conclusion of the year one thousand five hundred and eighty-four. deliberated maturely on the subject, they hesitated for some time between the king of France and the queen of England; but they came at last to fix their choice on the former, partly because they believed it would be easier for Henry than for Elizabeth, to afford them affiftance and support; and partly because, at Henry's death, his crown would devolve on the king

Many would not thus have deleved thing

of Navarre, in whose hands they believed that book their religion and liberty would be se-

THAT the offer which they resolved to make to the French monarch would be readily accepted, they could not doubt, when they considered that the principal reason why he had formerly declined to espouse their cause, was their refusing to consent to his succession, in the event of his brother's death. They could not but suppose that his ambition would be highly flattered with the opportunity of making so great an addition to his hereditary dominions; and they were not ignorant of the resentment which he bore towards the king of Spain, who, under the mask of friendship, had long somented the troubles of his kingdom.

Henry was not insensible to the force of these incentives. He gave the ambassadors whom the States had sent to him on this occasion, the most gracious reception; assured them of his gratitude for the trust and considence which the States were pleased to repose in him, and bade them rely upon him for every mark of friendship in his power to bestow. But as their proposal was of too much importance to be hastily embraced, he desired they would deliver

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o o K deliver it in writing, that it might be submitted to the revifal of his counsellors.

State of parties in rance.

HENRY would not thus have delayed giving them a decifive answer, if he had been at liberty either to pursue his own inclinations, or to confult the interest of France. Peace indeed had been established between the inveterate factions, into which his kingdom was divided; and the catholic league was apparently extinct. But the causes to which that pernicious confederacy owed its birth, still subsisted; and it required a much more dexterous and fleady hand than that of Henry, to guide the reins of government, in such a manner as to prevent the passions of the parties from breaking out again with as much violence as before. Henry duke of Guise, son of the celebrated Francis, was fuperior to his father in exterior accomplishments, and not inferior to him either in military or political abilities. Like his father too. he was actuated with the most inordinate ambition; and could not endure that infignificance, to which the King's aversion to his bold aspiring character had reduced him. Enraged at being excluded from the government of the state, while all the power which he and his adherents had formerly enjoyed was engroffed by the minions of the King, he refolved either to compel

PHILIP II. KING OF SPAIN.

pel Henry to redress his grievances, or to de- BOOK prive him of his crown. With the most indefatigable industry he applied himself to the His emissaries profecution of his design. were spread every where; the kingdom swarmed with anonymous letters; and the pulpit refounded with the imminent danger to which the church was exposed. "For the King, it was faid, notwithstanding his pretensions to fanctity, had either no religion at all, or was fecretly attached to that of the Hugonots; for whom he had, in his late treaty with them, difcovered the most unjustifiable partiality. This alone was fufficient to rouse the indignation of every faithful fon of the church; but there was ground for the most alarming apprehensions, when it was confidered, that the duke of Anjou being now dead, and the King without any hopes of iffue, the crown must (if the people did not exert themselves with vigour to prevent it) be inherited by the King of Navarre, a relapsed heretic, and a determined enemy of their holy faith .

By these means the duke of Guise united The cathomore than one half of the kingdom in a fanatical, but firm confederacy, with which he hoped to controul, and in time to annihilate,

Memoires de la ligue, tom. iil.

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B O O K XX. 1585. the authority of the King. In order to gain greater respect to this consederacy, he placed at the head of it Charles, cardinal of Bourbon, a zealous Catholic, far advanced in years, and noted for the weakness of his understanding. Guise intended this prelate for Henry's successor in the event of the death or deposition of that prince; and he expected under him to engross the whole administration, and to pave the way for his own accession to the throne.

THE king of Spain was not an unconcerned spectator of these transactions, in a kingdom, to the affairs of which he had, for several years, given the most particular attention. For, besides the deep concern, which, agreeably to his general system of politics, he had ever taken in all the contests between the Catholics and Protestants in almost every European state, he was greatly interested to prevent the king of Navarre (whose dominions he held unjustly) from ascending the throne of France; and there was no other means he knew, by which he could deter the French monarch from lending assistance to the United Provinces, but to surnish him with employment at home.

His views.

Moved by this last consideration, he had given assistance to the league, when it was first

b Uncle to the king of Navarre.

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formed by the fame factious leaders fome years before. He was now more determined than ever to support it; prompted partly by the motives that have been mentioned, and partly by this confideration, that, by fomenting the difturbances in France, he would exhauft the strength of that mighty monarchy, and thereby either acquire possession of it himself, or be at least delivered from all dread of that power, which he believed to be the only one in Europe able to counteract his designs.

HAVING some time before the present pe- His treaty riod revived his negociations with the duke of with the Guise, and the other heads of the league, he Guise. gave orders to his commissioners, Moreo, and Baptista Tassi, to form an alliance with them. without delay. And it was accordingly concluded between the Spanish envoys on the one hand, and the dukes of Guife and Mayenne, and the Sieur de Menneville, agent for the cardinal of Bourbon, on the other, at Joinville, on the fecond of February one thousand five hundred and eighty-five, upon the following conditions:

"THAT in case the present king of France should die without male issue, the cardinal of Bourbon should, as first prince of the blood, be declared King; and all those persons excluded

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B O O K from the fuccession, who were either heretics themselves, or favourers of heretics.

- "THAT the cardinal of Bourbon should, in the event of his succeeding to the crown, ratify the peace of Chateau-Cambresis, between the courts of France and Spain.
- "THAT he should prohibit the exercise of every religion but the Catholic, within his dominions.
- "THAT he should restore to Philip all the places which had been taken from him by the Hugonots, and assist him in subduing his rebellious subjects in the Netherlands.
- "That, on the other hand, Philip should contribute fifty thousand crowns a month, for the support of the confederacy, besides assisting it with a sufficient number of troops, till heresy should be utterly extirpated. That he should take the cardinal of Bourbon, the lords of the house of Guise, and all others who should accede to the league, under his protection; and that neither of the contracting parties should enter into any treaty with the king of France, without mutual consent."

Besides these conditions, which were committed to writing, and subscribed, Philip engaged

gaged to pay annually the fum of two hundred BOOK thousand crowns to the duke of Guise, to be disposed of by him as he should judge most conducive to the interest of the league. And it was agreed, that this whole transaction should be concealed, till a more convenient season for divulging it,

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HENRY, however, received intelligence of the congress; and from former experience it was easy for him to conjecture the purpose for which it had been held. Soon after this, the embassy from the States of Holland arrived, and was received in the manner above mentioned. Mendoza, the Spanish resident, could not be ignorant of what had passed at Joinville; yet he complained to Henry of his kind reception of the Dutch ambassadors, as being inconfiftent with the friendship which he owed to the Catholic King. Henry replied to this complaint, with a degree of firmness and dignity, which it had been happy for himself, and for his fubjects, if he could have maintained uniformly in his conduct; " I do not, faid he, consider the people of the Netherlands as rebels, but as men, whose patience has been worn out by oppression. Humanity and justice incline me to take an interest in the diffress of a neighbouring nation, once subject to the crown of France. I have not however as yet resolved

B O O K XX. to concern myself in their affairs. I am unwilling to violate that peace which subsists between your master and me; although I know, that, on his part, it has been violated. My resolution will appear, when I think sit to disclose it. In the mean time I desire it may be remembered, that I shall not be intimidated by the threats of the king of Spain; and that I am master of my conduct, and at liberty, without being answerable to any other prince, to make either peace or war, as I incline."

Henry hefitates as to accepting theproffered fovereignty.

Among Henry's counsellors were some who exhorted him to embrace fo tempting an opportunity as the prefent, of advancing the glory of his crown. The perplexed fituation of his affairs, they faid, ought rather to determine him to enter into foreign war, than to deter him from engaging in it. It would prove the most effectual remedy for those noxious humours with which his kingdom was diftempered, by giving a new direction to that restless spirit with which his subjects had long been actuated; and it will be found the furest method of disappointing the designs of the duke of Guise, by depriving him of the affistance of the Catholic King, to whom it would furnish fufficient employment in defence of his own dominions.

Such was the reasoning of those who advised Henry to accept of the fovereignty of the United Provinces. It was plaufible, but not substantial or folid. " For where," faid others of his counsellors, seconded by the queen-mother, " can troops be found in France sufficient to carry on a war against an enemy so powerful as the king of Spain? Upon fuch of the Catholics as are in league with that monarch, the King can have no reliance. On the contrary, they would unite with Philip against their native fovereign. To compose an army of such Catholics as retain their fidelity, and to fend that army to the Netherlands, would be to abandon the kingdom naked and defenceless to the duke of Guise. And were the King to apply to the Protestants for affistance, what purpose would that measure serve, but to excite an universal alarm, and to determine all the Catholics in the kingdom to accede to the league?"

accepting it.

HENRY could not refift the force of these ar- He declines guments. Finding himself therefore thus fettered by his factious fubjects, he refolved, though with much reluctance, to decline the tempting offer which the States had made to him; and having called their ambaffadors, he informed them, that the unhappy fituation of his domeffic affairs rendered it impossible for him at present to accept of their offer, or to undertake their

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BOOK protection; but that he would not fail to recommend their cause to the queen of England in the warmest manner.

Anxiety of the queen of England.

ELIZABETH had formerly approved of their election of the duke of Anjou, and had even contributed her endeavours to promote it. But she dreaded the union of the provinces with France, as an event which would have raised the maritime power of that kingdom to a fuperiority above her own, and therefore she had regarded with a jealous eye, the making a tender to Henry of their fovereignty. fooner was she informed of that monarch's refolution to decline accepting it, than her anxiety taking another direction, she dreaded that their despair would induce them to throw themselves on the mercy of their former fovereign, whose feverest vengeance, she could not doubt, would be poured out upon her, as foon as his affairs in the Netherlands were composed.

The States make her an offer of the fovereignty.

In order to prevent this effect of Henry's refusal, which was a more immediate object of her dread, than any confequence that could have arisen from his acceptance, she sent an ambassador to rouse their drooping spirits, and to give them hopes of her protection.

States

Reidan, lib, iv. Davila, lib, vii. Van Meteren, lib. xii. P. 376,

States were encouraged by this mark of her attention, to form the resolution of making the same offer of their sovereignty to her, which they had made to the king of France: and ambassadors were accordingly appointed, and sent over to England in the month of July one thousand sive hundred and eighty-five.

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THESE ambaffadors employed every argument which they could devise, to prevail upon Elizabeth to yield to their defire. After teftifying in the strongest terms that gratitude with which the States were penetrated on account of the favour which she had already afforded them; they represented, "That they had now more occasion than ever for her friendship, and must fink under the power of Philip, who posfessed such inexhaustible resources, if she did not speedily interpose in their behalf. But although the power of the confederacy was fmall, when compared with those mighty efforts which were made by the king of Spain to enflave it, it was not unworthy of the queen's attention and regard. Besides possessing some important towns in Brabant, Flanders, and Guelderland, they were still in possession of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Friesland, in which there were many flourishing and well-fortified cities, capacious harbours, and navigable rivers, from which the Queen's subjects would derive infinite

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finite advantage in the way of commerce; not to mention that, by the accession of so numerous a fleet as that of the United Provinces, her navy would be able to give law to all the maritime powers in Europe. They were far from fuppoling that interest alone would determine the Queen to regard their present application; they had already experienced her generofity, and they now addressed her as the sovereign of a powerful kingdom, who had shewn that she was touched with their calamities. It was their earnest desire, at this time, that she would accept of the fovereignty of the provinces, upon the fame conditions on which their native princes had enjoyed it, and that she would henceforth confider the people of the Netherlands as her faithful subjects, who would vie with those of her native kingdom in demonstrating their attachment to her person, and in advancing the glory of her reign.

ELIZABETH received this proposal with much complacency, and assured the ambassadors, that they should not return without carrying such an answer along with them as would entirely satisfy the States; but before she could be more particular in her reply, she must consider the affair with that attention which it deserved, and hear the opinions of her counsellors.

THE fame thing happened on this occasion BOOK in the court of England, as in that of France fome months before. Elizabeth's ministers she delit were no less divided in their fentiments than rates on the those of Henry, and formed their judgments as courtiers are wont to do in matters of doubtful iffue, conformably either to the natural temper of their mind, or to the inclination of the prince.

THERE were fome among them who thought, that both justice and prudence required that Elizabeth should reject the offer that had been made to her; for it was the common interest of princes, they faid, that fubjects should be retained in their allegiance; and to encourage them in the violation of it, was in reality to undermine the foundations of their own author rity. The Queen had hitherto favoured the inhabitants of the Low-Countries, not as a free and independent nation, but as a people who were cruelly oppreffed; and her intention had not been to enable them to renounce their allegiance, but to induce their King to treat them with greater equity and moderation. In this purpose they thought she might still perfift. But to acknowledge the States for fovereigns, and to accept from their hands that fovereignty which belonged to another, would not only be a violation of that justice which princes

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princes owe to one another, but might be attended with the most dangerous consequences to her own repose. The king of Spain would not rest satisfied till he had retaliated so great an injury. The state of Ireland, and even that of England, where there was so great a number of Catholics devoted to his service, would furnish him with means of executing his design. And from somenting a spirit of division among her subjects, he would soon pass to an open invasion of her kingdom. With bis arms the spiritual thunders of the Roman pontiss would co-operate, and in that case such a number of enemies might be excited against her as would endanger the stability of her throne."

But others of Elizabeth's counsellors were of opinion, that so inviting an opportunity as the present ought not to be neglected, and that the Queen could not, with reason, be accused of injustice for embracing it. The States, compelled by necessity, had, several years before the present period, assumed the sovereignty into their own hands, and since that time they had conferred it upon the duke of Anjou, whom the Queen had virtually recognized for their lawful sovereign. The king of Spain had clearly sorfeited his right to their obedience, by his violation of all the conditions on which that right was sounded. "Notwith-standing

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standing this, he will no doubt be highly of- BOOK fended," continued they, " if the Queen shall think fit to liften to the present application. But can he be more an enemy to the Queen, than he has already shewn himself? Has he not long endeavoured to ftir up her disaffected subjects in Ireland? And in England does he not pursue the same hostile and insidious defigns? Has he not warmly espoused the cause of the queen of Scots? Does he not on every occasion shew himself an implacable enemy to the English name? And what is it that has so long prevented him from declaring open war, but that his revolted subjects in the Netherlands have hitherto afforded full employment to all the forces which he could spare from his ambitious enterprizes? When he shall have difengaged himfelf from his embarrassments in the Low-Countries, can we doubt that he will turn his arms against the Queen? It is the part of prudence to provide against a distant as well as against an immediate danger; and prudence and a regard to felf-preservation require that the Queen should, to the utmost of her power, support the people of the United Provinces, because in their preservation the peace and security of her own dominions are involved. If she reject the application of the States, and either give them no affiftance, or fuch only as has hitherto been granted, they will foon be over-

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overpowered; and Philip will then be not only at greater leifure, but much more able than at present, to execute his designs. But if the Queen accept of the advantageous offer that is made to her, and exert herself with vigour in desence of this people, who desire to become her subjects, she will encounter her enemy at a distance from home, she will be powerfully assisted by a brave and determined ally, and with her seet acting in concert with that of the States, she will be able to maintain the tranquillity of her kingdom."

Elizabeth undertakes the protection of the States.

ELIZABETH readily perceived the force of this reasoning: she believed that an open breach with Philip was unavoidable, and she thought it more eligible to begin hostilities herself now, than to wait till her adversary should be in a condition to execute his designs against her. She resolved however to decline accepting the fovereignty which the States had offered her, either because she apprehended that it would prove a greater burden than she was able to support, or because she was afraid of exciting the jealousy of the neighbouring But while for these reasons she defired that the supreme authority might still remain in the hands of the States, she resolved to afford them her protection; and with this view, after having received particular information

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tion concerning their strength, and the num- B Q ber of troops necessary for carrying on the war, fhe concluded a treaty with them, of which the principal articles were those which follow: "That the Queen should furnish the States with five thousand foot and one thousand horse, to be commanded by a Protestant general of her appointment, and to be paid by her during the continuance of the war. That after the conclusion of the war the States should repay her expences, and that the towns of Brille and Flushing, and the fort of Rammekins, should be immediately delivered to her, and should remain in her possession till she were fully reimbursed. That the commander of the forces, the governors of provinces and towns, and all the officers and foldiers, should take an oath of fidelity to the Queen and the States. That in case it should be found expedient to employ 2 fleet in the common cause, the States should furnish the same number of ships as the Queen, to be commanded by an English admiral. That the commander in chief, and two English ministers residing in the Netherlands, should be admitted into the affembly of the States. That none of the rights or privileges of the confederated provinces should be violated, and no change introduced in the established religion or government. And lastly, That neither of the two contracting parties should, without mutual

B O O K mutual confent, make peace, or enter into an alliance with the king of Spain 4."

Leicester appointed commander in chief.

Trits treaty was no fooner ratified, than Elizabeth iffued orders for carrying it into execution. The earl of Leicester (to whom this wife princess had been long attached in a degree which far exceeded his merit and fervices) was appointed general of the forces, and went over with them to Holland in the beginning of the year 1586, accompanied by more than five hundred gentlemen, who intended to ferve under him as volunteers. Leicester had neither courage, capacity, moderation, nor integrity, to qualify him for the arduous talk that was affigned him, but his defects were concealed under the glare of superficial accomplishments; with which, as he had long deceived the penetration of Elizabeth, he now imposed upon the people of the Netherlands, and excited in them the most flattering and delusive hopes. From his first arrival they regarded him as the restorer of their fallen state, and profusely heaped upon him every mark of honour which their immoderate fondness could devise. Not fatiffied with receiving him rather as a prince and a conqueror, who had already wrought their deliverance, than as the fubject of an ally by

d Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. v. Camden, an. 1585.

whom he had been fent to their affiftance, they conferred upon him the offices of governor general of the confederacy, and commander in chief of all their forces by fea and land.

B O O K XX. 1586.

with the fundamental laws of the confitution By this precipitate measure, of which they had afterwards the greatest reason to repent, they intended to gratify the Queen, and if posfible, to induce her to take a deeper interest in their affairs. But they were exceedingly difappointed in their expectations; she was offended at their artifice, and immediately difpatched her vice-chancellor to complain of their conduct, as being calculated to make the world believe her infincere in the declaration which she had published, of intending only to affift the provinces, and not to undertake the absolute charge of their protection. She defired that the States would recall that authority which they had conferred on Leicester, and commanded him to rest contented with the portion of power which she had given him. But it is extremely doubtful whether Elizabeth was in reality as much incenfed on this occasion as she appeared to be. She soon discovered an unwillingness to mortify her favourite's vanity and ambition; lent a favourable ear to the apology that was made to her by the States, and

· Sir Thomas Heneage.

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B O O K XX. did not infift on a compliance with her request. Whatever was her motive for this conduct, Leicester was installed in the government, and invested with as ample powers as were consistent with the fundamental laws of the constitution; after which he proceeded to make preparations for putting a stop to the progress of the Spanish arms.

Operations of the prince of Parma.

The prince of Parma, on the other hand, was no less active in preparing for the further prosecution of the war. After the acquisition of so many important towns, he had conceived the most sanguine expectations of being able soon to complete the reduction of the revolted provinces. But by the interposition of Elizabeth he perceived his victory snatched from him, when he thought himself upon the point of reaping it, and was exceedingly disappointed and chagrined. Finding himself however still superior to his enemy in the field, he resolved to improve this advantange, and as soon as the season would permit, to proceed with his wonted vigour.

The fiege of Grave.

THE confederates had, notwithstanding their loss of Maestricht above related, been able to keep possession of two considerable towns on the Maese, Grave in Brabant, and Venlo in Guelderland. Farnese was desirous to make himself

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himself master of these two places before he B O O K should turn his arms against the northern provinces; and early in the spring he sent count Charles of Mansyeldt to form the blockade of Grave. Mansveldt executed his commission with little opposition, by casting a bridge over the Maese, and by building forts and redoubts not only on the dykes of the river, but on the land fide of the town, where he pitched his camp, and cut off all communication between the besieged and the country behind them. The town was defended by an English garrifon, under the command of a young nobleman, baron de Hemert, a native of Guelderland. Leicester, sensible that the place was of the greatest importance for preventing the enemy from advancing into the provinces of Guelderland and Utrecht, went himself as far as the city of Utrecht, and from thence fent count Hohenloe and colonel Norris with two thoufand five hundred foot, partly Dutch and partly English, to the relief of the besieged. The Dutch arrived first, and having taken one of the Spanish forts on the banks of the Maese, opposite to Grave, they had begun to fortify themselves upon the dyke, when Mansveldt, having received intelligence of their arrival, fent three thousand Spaniards over the bridge already mentioned. By these troops the confederates were compelled to abandon their fortifications,

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BOOK and to retire along the dyke; but Norris and the English forces coming up to their affiftance, a bloody battle enfued. The English. though long inured to peace, gave proof on this occasion of that strong military genius by which they have fo often diffinguished themfelves in their wars upon the continent. They drove the veteran Spaniards before them with irresistible impetuosity, killed several hundreds of them, besides seven captains, and a great number of inferior officers, and compelled them to continue their retreat till they reached their fortifications on the bridge. There they were supported by fresh troops sent by Mansvelde from the camp. The battle was renewed, and both parties fought for fome time with the fame fury as before, till they were separated by a violent storm of wind and rain, which rendered all their efforts ineffectual. Through this accident the Spaniards still retained posfession of the bridge, but the rain which fell furnished count Hohenloe with the means of relieving the besieged. The river being swelled to an uncommon height, he broke down the dyke near Ravestein, which stands on the same fide with Grave, and having laid all the country between Ravestein and Grave under water, he conveyed to the belieged, ammunition, provisions, and a supply of troops across the inundation. THE

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THE prince of Parma, alarmed with this & S.X. fuccess of the confederates, set out for Grave with his main army; and in a few days after his arrival before the place two batteries were planted, and a part of the wall was demolished. It might still however have been defended for a considerable time; and De Hemert, the governor, gave the earl of Leicester the strongest affurances that he would hold out to the last. But his courage failing, he began to talk of the necessity of furrendering; and, although only two or three of his officers approved of his defign, while all the rest remonstrated against it as cowardly and dishonourable, he resolved to put it in execution; and upon the feventh of June, before the breach was practicable, or the enemy had taken any measures for an asfault, he fent to the prince of Parma a propofal to capitulate. The prince readily granted him the most favourable conditions, and fuffered him and the garrrison to march out with their arms and baggage. But as De Hemert was undeferying of this honour, he foon had reason to repent of the infamous part into which his cowardice had betrayed him. Both he and the officers who had concurred with him, were condemned by a court-martial to be beheaded. The fentence was acknowledged to be just, yet De Hemert's fate excited great commiseration in his countrymen. He was

B O O K XX. too young for the important trust which had been committed to him; there was no reason to suspect him of treachery or corruption, and he solicited in the most earnest manner to have his life spared, and to be permitted to engage in some perilous enterprise in which he might retrieve his honour. But Leicester thinking it necessary at this time, for the establishment of military discipline, which had been greatly relaxed, to give an example of severity, rejected all the applications which were made in his behalf'.

Siege of Venlo. Immediately after the furrender of Grave, Farnese led his army, amounting to twenty thousand soot and three thousand horse, to befiege Venlo; and he made the greater haste in his expedition against that place, the only one on the side of the Maese which remained in the hands of the consederates, as he understood that the garrison was weak, and that the celebrated Martin Schench, who commonly resided in it, had, by Leicester's orders, marched with the greatest part of his troops to secure the town of Gueldres. This man, a native of Guelderland, and a soldier of sortune, is celebrated by all the cotemporary historians, on account of his extraordinary valour, activity, and enter-

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Meteren, p. 403. Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. ii. and Strada.

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prize. Having first attached himself to the BOOK Spanish party in the Netherlands, he performed for that party feveral important fervices, but thinking himself dishonoured by a preference which the general bestowed on a Spanish officer, he had deferted to the States. Schench no fooner heard that the Spanish army had begun the siege of Venlo, than he set out with a body of horse in order to throw himself into the place. Finding it completely invested on every fide, he attacked the besiegers in the middle of the night, and having penetrated beyond the general's tent, he continued to advance till he had almost reached one of the gates of the town; but he could not enter, by reason of certain barricades which Farnese had raised to prevent the fallies of the garrison. Before he had time to demolish these, the whole camp was up in arms, and obliged him to abandon his attempt. He fought his way back through the thickest of the enemy, and escaped with the loss of between forty and fifty men. made several other vigorous efforts for the relief of the besieged, but they were all rendered abortive by the forefight and vigilance of the prince of Parma, who repelled his attacks; and, in spite of the annoyance which he gave him from without, kept up an inceffant fire upon the town till a great part of the wall was The different nations of which demolished.

B O O K XX.

the army consisted were disputing with each other for the honour of beginning the assault, when the besieged, dreading the fatal consequences that might follow, surrendered the town on nearly the same conditions with those which had been granted to the citizens of Grave. The prince of Parma found it necessary to employ all his authority to prevent the soldiers, whom the capitulation disappointed of their prey, from offering violence to the inhabitants; and he gave a proof of his respect for Schench, by treating his wife and sister in the most honourable manner, and surnishing them with his own coach to carry them to whatever place they should incline s.

The fiege and deftruction of Nuys. FROM Venlo, Farnése went without delay and invested Nuys, which belongs to the bishopric of Cologn, but was at that time in the possession of the States.

GEBHERT de Trusches, the archbishop and elector of Cologn, having, about three years before the present period, abjured the Catholic religion, and married, attempted still to retain his bishopric and electorate; but his canons, supported by the Pope and Emperor, excommunicated him; and having made war against

Meteren. Strada.

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him, in which they were affifted by the prince BOOK of Parma, they obliged him to take refuge in Holland, and elected in his room Ernest, son of the duke of Bavaria. The count de Meurs, one of his partifans, foon after recovered for him, by furprize, the town of Nuys, and obtained from the States a garrison, with which he had been able not only to defend that town against the force of Ernest, but to over-run the country, and do infinite mischief to the Catholic inhabitants. Ernest, unable to repress their eruptions, had gone himself in disguise to the prince of Parma to folicit his affiftance, and it was in compliance with his request, that Farnese, postponing the prosecution of his designs against the northern provinces, engaged in his present enterprize. He knew that Philip regarded no undertaking as foreign to his interest, in which the fecurity of the Catholic religion was concerned; and he dreaded that if the garrison of Nuys was not checked in time, they might gather strength, and persuade some of the neighbouring Protestant princes to espouse their cause. Some historians affirm, that he was likewise prompted by the prospect of that glory which he would acquire, should he conquer, in a few weeks, as he expected, a town which Charles the Bold duke of Burgundy had in vain attempted to reduce with an army of fixty thousand men in the space of a year.

In

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BOOK In this expectation he was not disappointed. Through a misfortune which befel the garrison in the person of Cloet the governor, who, being dangerously wounded, was disabled from attending to the operations of the defence, their resolution failed; and in less than three weeks after the prince's arrival before the town, they began to treat of a furrender. That he might fave time, and deliver the town as entire as possible to the Elector, Farnese agreed without any difficulty to an armiffice; and he had begun to treat with the deputies of the befieged, concerning the terms of capitulation, when the Italian and Spanish troops (who had been highly incenfed on account of his having prevented them from plundering the inhabitants of Venlo), being transported with a sudden rage, ran forward in contempt of his authority, and affaulted the town on different-fides, while the garrison, who trusted to the armistice, were off their guard. Meeting with little refistance, they quickly scaled the walls, fpread themselves over the town, and butchered all who fell in their way, without distinction of age, fex, or condition. Nor was their barbarous cruelty fatiated with the horrid carnage which they committed. Their fury being turned into madness, they spurned the thoughts of plunder, and fet fire to the town; and as the wind was high, and most of the houses were built

built of wood, it was in a few hours confumed BOOK to ashes. Two churches only escaped, in which a number of women and children had taken . refuge; and it was with difficulty that the marquis del Guafto prevailed upon the favage foldiers to spare the lives of those trembling, miserable remains of the inhabitants.

FROM this difastrous scene, Farnele, now Siege of duke of Parma, by his father's death, directed his march towards Rhineberg; another place in the electorate of Cologn, of which, on account of its important fituation, the States were extremely folicitous to retain possession.

THE earl of Leicester mean while had been Operations of the earl employed in drawing together all the forces of Leicester. which could be spared from the garrisons of the towns and forts, and feemed determined not to fuffer any more of the campaign to pals without striking some important stroke, which might fatisfy the expectations of the confederates. But as his army, which confifted only of feven thousand foot and one thousand four hundred horse, was inferior in number to the enemy, he durst not hazard an engagement; but refolved to attack fome place of importance in the possession of the Spaniards, in order to

Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. iv.

induce

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BOOK induce the duke of Parma to relinquish the fiege of Rhineberg. He directed his march towards Zutphen, and in order to facilitate his design against that place, first attacked, and made himself master of the town of Doesberg; after which he fat down with his whole army before Zutphen, and began the siege in form,

He lays fiege to Zutphen.

If he had followed the counsel that was given him, to fecure certain passes which led to the town, it must unavoidably have fallen into his hands; as it was neither furnished with provifions, nor with military stores. Of this the duke of Parma had been particularly informed by Baptisto Tassi the governor; and for this reason, although he had made progress in his operations against Rhineberg, he immediately raised the siege of that place, and hastened with all his forces to the relief of Zutphen. As he was acquainted with the extremity to which the befieged were reduced, he fent the Italian cavalry, under the marquis del Guafto, before the rest of the army, with a temporary supply; and ordered a numerous body of Spanish infantry to advance with the utmost expedition. Through Leicester's neglect to fortify the passes, a part of this supply was introduced into the town without any difficulty, in the night; and on the day following, del Guasto attempted to introduce the rest. On this occasion a fierce rencounter

rencounter happened between the Italian and BOOK English cavalry. At the first onset the Italians were compelled to retire; but they foon returned to the charge. The action then became hot and obstinate, and the iffue remained for some time doubtful. Del Guafto, seconded by feveral officers of diffinguished reputation, made every effort that could have been expected from the most experienced commander. But the English, led on by colonel Norris and Sir Philip Sidney, proved a fecond time victorious, and drove the Italians before them till they reached the Spanish infantry; when the English, being ignorant whether the whole Spanish army was at hand, thought it dangerous to advance. Of the Italians about one hundred and fifty were killed and wounded, and of the English thirty. But the latter paid dear for Death of Sir Philip Sidtheir victory, by their irreparable loss of the ney. brave and accomplished Sir Philip Sidney, who is celebrated by his cotemporaries, as a person of the most consummate worth; and as he posfessed the favour of Elizabeth, must, if it had been the will of heaven to prolong his life, have foon attained to the highest dignities in her power to bestow. Soon after this rencounter, the duke of Parma arrived with his whole army in order of battle; and Leicoster, Leicester conscious, of the inferiority of his forces, drew raise the them off from the fiege, and fuffered him to fiege.

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B O O K XX. enter Zutphen without opposition. Here the duke remained till he had visited the fortifications, and laid in a sufficient quantity of ammunition and provisions; after which he repassed the Rhine, and having put garrisons into his new conquests, he set out for Brussels.

Leicester takes some forts near Zutphen.

His troops were no fooner diffributed into winter-quarters, than Leicester returned with his army towards Zutphen. He did not however intend to enter so late in the year upon the siege of the town itself, but only to make himself master of three forts on the opposite fide of the river, which put it in the power of the Spaniards to make frequent incursions into the territory of Veluwe. In this attempt he fucceeded, and thereby deprived the Spaniards for a time of what had been the principal advantage which they derived from the possession of Zutphen. After which, having stationed a part of his troops in thefe forts, he returned to the Hague, where the States had been appointed to convene.

Leicefter's arbitrary and imprudent conduct. This affembly had no great reason to be satisfied with their new governor's management of the war; and they were highly discontented with his civil administration. During the course of those military operations which have been related, he had treated them

in many respects rather as a conquered province, BOOK than a free state, to whose assistance he had been fent by their friend and ally; and had shewn no less contempt of their fundamental laws, to which he knew they were unalterably attached, than to the conditions of their treaty with Elizabeth. Instead of regulating his conduct by the advice of the States or council, as gratitude and prudence required, he appears to have conceived an early prejudice against all those who had diffinguished themselves in the service of their country, while he bestowed his favour on a fet of artful and defigning men, of fufpected fidelity, who were obsequious to his caprices and charge of the research a segon as

By their counsel, he laid restrictions upon trade, which, if the States had not interpoled with vigour, would have proved fatal to it; and which obliged many of those Flemish merchants, who had lately fettled in Holland and Zealand, to remove into foreign parts. By the fame advice, he tampered with the coin, and made fuch alterations in it as enriched his minions or himself, whilst they impoverished the provinces, ato ad a state of the contract edial should fill to up with one of three being

their action of the state of th

INNOVATIONS were introduced without the confent of the States, in the manner of collecting the public money, and after it was collected.

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BOOK lected, instead of putting it, as the constitution fequired, into the hands of the treasurer chosen by the States, Leicester ordered it to be dellvered to a treasurer of his own appointment, who refused to fatisfy the States as to the purposes to which it was applied. Taxes were levied from the people, for paying not only all the foldiers in the garrisons, and all the country troops, but fufficient likewise for the payment of between fix and feven thousand Germans; yet the foldiers in the garrifons were fo ill paid, that the officers found it difficult to prevent a mutiny; and two thousand Germans who had enlifted under the count de Meurs, in hopes of receiving a certain fum on their arrival in the Netherlands, being disappointed, through the governor's negligence, or the corruption of those in whom he confided, returned to Germany without drawing their fwords; at a time when their affiftance was abfolutely neceffary to the fuccess of the campaign.

> In the treaty between the States and Elizabeth, it had been agreed, that when any vacancy should happen in the government of a town, fort, or province, the commander in chief should fill it up with one of three persons presented to him by the States. To this agreement Leicester paid no regard, but appointed persons to governments of great importance,

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not only without their being named by the BOOK States, but even when the States remonstrated against his appointing them. Roland York, a Londoner, who had fome years before been detected in treasonable practices, of which they gave Leicester timely information, was notwithstanding this intrusted with the charge of the principal fort near Zutphen, which commanded the country of Veluwe; and William Stanley, an English Catholic, who had been in the fervice of Spain, was made governor of Deventer, into which place Leicester, in contradiction to the treaty with Elizabeth, had put a garrison of twelve hundred foot and two hundred horse, consisting mostly of Irish papists.

Besides these and other instances of imprudent and arbitrary conduct, he disgusted the Dutch troops by appointing English officers to command them. He compelled the people to furnish him with carriages, and to serve in his army as pioneers; and, in violation of what had ever been esteemed a fundamental privilege of the inhabitants of the Netherlands, he obliged persons, prosecuted by his tools, to leave the provinces in which they refided, and to fubmit to their trial in other provinces, where their profecutors had greater influence

Van Meteren, lib. xiii. Grotius, lib. v. Vol. III. SUCH

to procure their condemnation b.

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Such a complication of despotic measures in the government of a people jealous of their liberty, appears repugnant, whatever were the governor's motives, to the very lowest degree of prudence which we can suppose him to have It is not furprifing that he was fufpossessed. pected of having formed a plan to suppress the affembly of the States, and to affume an abfolute authority; but if his prefumption could impose upon him so far as to make him believe, that so wife a princess as Elizabeth would, from her partiality to him, and in open violation of her engagements, support his usurpation, vet his conduct was extremely ill calculated to promote his perfidious design. It disgusted all the better fort of those who had influence in the provinces, and ferved to diffuse an universal alarm, before he had taken measures proper for fecuring fuccess in his attempt.

The States

THE States, however, sensible of their present dependance upon Elizabeth, resolved to avoid an open rupture with her savourite, and, not-withstanding what had passed, they received him on his arrival at the Hague with every mark of respect. They delivered to him a modest but sirm remonstrance, and intreated him with much earnestness to redress their grievances. Leicester could not justify his conduct in any of the particulars that have been mentioned.

mentioned. He attempted, however, to make \$ 60 K fome apology for it, and affured the deputies, though with little fincerity, that for the future he should be careful to avoid giving them any just ground of offence. He added, that at present he was under a necessity of passing over to England, on account of certain disturbances in that kingdom, which required his presence. The States were extremely furprifed at this intimation, as they expected that he would have proceeded immediately to reform the abuses of which they had complained; but they were in fome measure reconciled to his departure, by his agreeing to a proposal which they made to him, that, till his return to the Low-Countries, his authority as governor should be lodged in the council of state; and he accordingly executed a public deed to this effect on the twenty-fourth of November, although it foon afterwards appeared that he had done it only to avoid the trouble of any further folicitation upon the subject. He executed privately on the fame day another deed, in which he referved to himfelf an exclusive authority over all the governors of provinces, towns, and forts, and even deprived the council of state of their wonted authority. This conduct, at once fo cowardly and infincere, alienated from him more than ever the affections of the States, and destroyed entirely the confidence which they

B O O K XX. had reposed in him. It confirmed the opinion of those who believed that he aspired at the sovereignty, and filled the minds of persons of all ranks with the most alarming apprehensions.

Treachery of Roland York and William Stanley.

THE States had, as mentioned above, remonstrated against the trust committed to Roland York and William Stanley. These men gave foon a fatal proof of the justness of the fuspicions which had been entertained of their fidelity. In a few weeks after Leicester's departure for England, they entered into a treacherous correspondence with Baptisto Tassi, governor of Zutphen, and began to prepare their measures for delivering to him the important fortresses which had been intrusted to their care. The council of state received intelligence of their perfidious design; but they had not power to hinder them from putting it in execution. In the beginning of February, both Deventer and the fort opposite to Zutphen were given up to the Spaniards. York did not live long to enjoy the wages of his iniquity, and died in misery, neglected and forgotten by those to whom he had facrificed his honour; but Stanley, having perfuaded most of his troops to enter into the service of Spain, and having uniformly professed the Catholic religion (which Philip confidered as an atonement for the most odious

odious crimes), was permitted to retain the BOOK government of Deventer, together with the fame rank in the Spanish, which he had enjoyed in the English army. This man, sprung from a respectable family in England, had been concerned in Babington's conspiracy in favour of the queen of Scots, and was probably betraved, by the dread of a discovery, into this unworthy conduct, which has involved his name in perpetual infamy.

THE news of these disasters spread grief and consternation over the consederated provinces. They recalled the memory of the duke of Anjou's attempt on Antwerp, and excited great anxiety and dread, left the examples of York and Stanley should be imitated by the governors of other forts and towns.

THE States participated of the distress which Prodence the people felt on the present occasion. They and modestill however maintained their wonted fortitude, and without regard to Leicester's resentment, refolved to provide, as well as their circumstances would allow, for the preservation of the commonwealth. In an affembly held at the Hague on the fixth of February, after afferting their own supreme authority, they enacted, that during the absence of the earl of Leicester, prince Maurice should exercise the authority

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BOOK of governor, and that all officers in their fervice should take an oath of obedience to him, and of fidelity to the States. To this resolution, which was immediately published and enforced, two declarations were fubioined: the first, that the States did not thereby mean to abridge the authority which they had conferred on the earl of Leicefter, but only to restore to the inferior governors their legal rights and powers; and the fecond, that they highly disapproved of those general reflections which had been thrown out against the English troops, on account of the late treachery of a few individuals; for there were bad as well as good men in every nation, and nothing could be more illiberal and unjust than fuch undistinguishing reflections.

They reprefent their grievances to Elizabeth.

But while their conduct at home contained this mixture of firmness and moderation, they gave vent to their refentment, in letters, which they appointed fome of their number to carry to Elizabeth and Leicester; in which, after making mention of the trust and confidence which they had placed in him, they entered into a full detail of their grievances.

LEICESTER was highly offended with these letters, and endeavoured to perfuade Elizabeth. that they had been written by a party who were his enemies, while the generality were well affected both to his person and government.

There

There was indeed a numerous faction in the Netherlands, under the direction of the clergy, whom Leicester had attached to him by a punctilious attendance on public worship, and an affectation of zeal for the reformed religion. These men not only concurred with his partizans in England, in attempting to diferedit the representation of his conduct which the States had transmitted to Elizabeth, but studied to controll the authority of the States at home, and endeavoured to inspire the queen with the most groundless prejudices against prince Maurice and other popular leaders, through whose influence, they faid, the States had conceived a difgust against the English alliance, and were now no less alienated from the queen than from the earl of Leicester. Elizabeth did not hearken implicitly either to the States or their accusers, but fent over to Holland lord Buckhurft, a noble- Lord Buckman esteemed for his prudence and moderation, the Netherto inquire into the ground of that contradictory information which fhe had received, but chiefly with an intention to extinguish, as foon as posfible, the spirit of animosity and division to which the governor's imprudence had given rife. Buckhurst soon discovered the falsehood of those infinuations which Leicester's partizans had propagated with regard to the deligns of prince Maurice, and the disaffection of the States; and he found no reason to call in G 4 question

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BOOK question any part of that remonstrance which had been fent to Elizabeth. He wifely declined entering into any discussion of the points of difference between the opposite parties, approved in general of the conduct of the States fince Leicester's departure, exhorted them to bury in oblivion what had passed, and reminded them of the mischievous consequences with which the want of harmony must be attended in the present critical situation of their affairs.

Elizabeth's partiality for Leicef-

These exhortations feemed to produce, in fome measure, the defired effect; the States appeared fatisfied that Leicester should still retain the office of governor; and lord Buckhurst carried back to Elizabeth fuch a report of their disposition, as was calculated to preserve that amity which had hitherto fublifted between her and them; but he scrupled not to condemn the conduct of her favourite, and accused himof being the cause of all the disturbances which had happened. If any other of Elizabeth's courtiers had been guilty of the same indifcretions with the earl of Leicester, it is not to be doubted that he would have felt the weight of her resentment. He had far exceeded the powers which she had given him. By his misconduct he had strengthened the hands of her mortal enemy, the king of Spain. And by his misconduct and arrogance together,

he had almost involved her in differtions with \$ 0 0 K an ally whom she had undertaken to defend, and with whom it was of the highest consequence to her interest that she should maintain a perfect understanding. Yet such was her partiality for this unworthy favourite, and fo great the influence which he possessed, that he found means to turn her indignation from himfelf against his accuser. Lord Buckhurst incurred her displeasure, and was even put under arrest, as if be, and not Leicester, had been guilty k,

NOTHING could be more agreeable to the Famine an duke of Parma than these distractions in the the southern confederated provinces; but he was prevented provinces. from availing himself of them by the miferable condition to which the provinces under his command were reduced by famine and peftilence. The country, as well as the towns, in the fouthern provinces, had of late fuffered a prodigious diminution of inhabitants. Great numbers had forfaken their habitations, partly on account of their religion, and partly of the ravages which had been committed by the troops; and only a few of those who remained, had either feed to fow, or horfes and cattle to

Meteren, lib. xiv. Bentivoglio, p. ii. lib. iv. Reidanus, lib. vi. Cambden, an. 1587.

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HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF

ook cultivate their grounds. There had been almost no crop raised in the preceding year within the provinces, and the crops in the neighbouring countries had been worse than usual for feveral years. From Holland and Zealand the Flemings might have been abundantly fupplied, but the confederated States, besides prohibiting all communication with the fouthern provinces, had placed guardships upon the coasts, and in the mouths of the rivers, to prevent them from receiving supplies from foreign parts, in the hopes of weakening the Spanish army, or of compelling the frontier towns to return into the confederacy. This cruel policy was not attended with either of these effects. The duke of Parma brought provisions for his army from France, Germany, and England, at an immense expence, and he gave particular attention to the supplying of those towns which lay nearest to the United Provinces.

> THOSE dreadful calamities which are the ordinary concomitants of famine, were felt chiefly in the interior parts, where great multitudes died of want, and of those pestilential diseases which want and unwholesome nourishment produced. In Antwerp, Bruffels, and other places, many persons of the better ranks in life, after felling their furniture and other effects to purchase

PHILIPIL KING OF SPAIN.

purchase food, were reduced to beg openly in the streets. In Brabant and Flanders several villages were entirely deferted; and the cotemporary historians add, that from the folicude and defolation of fome parts of the country, wolves and other wild beafts were fo much multiplied, that besides many persons who perished in other places, upwards of a hundred were deyoured by those furious animals, within two miles of Ghent, in a country formerly one of the best cultivated and most populous in the Netherlands. is may appear forprider, sear simin

Such was the state of the fouthern prop Prosperity vinces, which are by nature the richest, though governed by the duke of Parms with superior abilities. On the other hand, the maritime provinces were torn by factions, and governed by one who possessed neither moderation, prudence, nor capacity; yet the inhabitants were not only entirely free from those calamities with which their neighbours were oppressed, but were richly furnished with all the necessaries of life, and daily increased in numbers. Every house was occupied, new streets and new towns were built, and individuals grew richer every day, notwithstanding the perpetual burden of an expensive war. For these advantages the Dutch were indebted chiefly to their commerce, which had long been confiderable, but was of late greatly

3 0 0 K XX. greatly augmented by the multitude of manufacturers and merchants who flocked into Holland and Zealand, when Brabant and Flanders were broken off from the confederacy. The calamities of the latter provinces contributed still more to increase the migration of people into the former, till they became the seat of the greatest part of that wealth and industry, which for ages past had distinguished the Netherlands above the rest of Europe.

In this condition of the United Provinces, it may appear furprising, that during the space of eight months, no attempt was made by the confederates to recover any of the towns which had been taken from them; but division here. and the want of capacity and vigour in the person intrusted with the reins of government, were attended with fome of the same effects as were produced by the famine and peftilence in the other provinces. Neither prince Maurice nor the States had power at this time to enforce obedience to their commands, except in the provinces of Holland and Zealand. In the reft, the partizans of Leicester disputed, and counteracted their authority; and thus, the duke of Parma, notwithstanding those unspeakable calamities in which the provinces under his go-

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Van Meteren, lib. iv. p. 434. Thuanus, lib. lxxxviii.

vernment were involved, was fooner ready than BOOK the confederates to resume the operations of the war. It will be all so so the sine at . set

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importance in Flanders which had not fubmitted to his arms. He now resolved to attack the latter of these places; and, in order to conceal his defign, he fent Hautepeine and the marquis del Guafto, with a body of troops, towards the Veluwe, as if he had intended to make his principal attack in that quarter. This artifice had the effect which he defired. Prince Maurice and count Hohenloe were immediately fent to the Veluwe with the army of the States; and in the mean time the duke turned fuddenly towards Sluys. This place, which Beginning of June. lies at a little distance from the coast, communicates with the fea by a spacious canal, capable of receiving the largest ships. By this canal, which feparates Sluys from the isle of Cadfand, the town is rendered inaccessible by land on the west and north; and all the ground on the east

is so broken and intersected, by an infinite number of fmaller canals derived from the larger, that it is impracticable to approach the place except by a neck of land on the fouth, leading towards Damme and Bruges. Sluys lies at the distance of nearly five miles from Oftend on the fouth, and from Flushing on the

OSTEND and Sluys were the only towns of The flege

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north; from the former of which it might receive affiftance by land, and from the latter, by fea. It was therefore the duke of Parma's first object to intercept the communication of the befieged with these two places, and for this purpose he began with attacking the fort of Blackenberg, which stands half-way between Sluvs and Oftend. As the garrison were utterly unprepared for refistance against so vigorous an attack, he foon compelled them to furrender; immediately after which, he proceeded with a part of his forces to the ifle of Cadfand. At that place, after erecting a fort on the banks of the great canal, nearer the fea than Sluys, he had recourse to the same expedient which he had employed fo fuccessfully at Antwerp, and blocked up the canal by a bridge of ships strongly bound together, and well furnished with troops and artillery.

HAVING thus cut off the only channels of communication by which the friends of the befrieged could relieve them, he began to make his approaches to the place itself on that fide which looks towards Bruges, on which alone it was accessible. Even there the ground was so wet, as to increase exceedingly the labour of working the trenches; and the besieged had, in order to keep the enemy at a distance, raised a strong redoubt beyond the ditch. The garri-

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PHILIP II. KING OF SPAIN.

fon confifted of about one thousand fix hundred 3 0.0 men, partly English and partly Dutch, commanded by colonel Groenvelt, one of the bravest officers in the fervice of the States. In the beginning of the fiege they made feveral vigorous fallies, in which they gave the most fhining proofs of intrepidity. But finding that although in these fallies they did great execution among the enemy, their own numbers fuffered confiderable diminution, Groenvelt refolved to restrain them for the suture from advancing beyond the redoubt. This redoubt they defended for some time with great bravery, and frequently repulfed the affailants; but they were obliged at last to yield to superior numbers, and to retire within the town.

In carrying forward the trenches, Farnese encountered difficulties from the foftness of the ground, and the incessant fire of the besieged, that were almost insurmountable. Many of his troops were killed, and the marquis of Renti, La Motte, and several others of his principal officers were dangeously wounded.

In the mean time prince Maurice and count Return of Hohenloe had entered Brabant, and after de- from Engstroying a great number of little towns and villages, had directed their march towards Bois-le-Duc, hoping that, in order to fave that place,

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place, the duke of Parma would quit the fiege of Sluys.' But before they had taken the fort of Engelem, which lay in their way to-Bois-le-Duc, they were informed that the earl of Leicefter, who had long been impatiently expected, had at last arrived at Flushing with a reinforcement of troops. Maurice fet out instantly, with fome cohorts, to meet him, leaving Hohenloe with the rest of the forces to prosecute the enterprise against Engelem and Bois-le-Duc. When Maurice had joined Leicester, the confederate army was nearly equal to that of the besiegers. Leicester set fail from Flushing on the twenty-ninth of June, and in a few hours reached the canal of Sluys. But after examining the bridge, redoubts, and forts, with which Farnese had blocked up the pasfage, he judged it impracticable in that way to reach the town. Between the defire of accomplishing his design, and the difficulty which he must encounter in carrying it into execution, he balanced for fome days, and at length he steered his course for Ostend, with the resolution to lead his troops from thence by land to the relief of the belieged. In the profecution of this latter defign, he shewed no greater fpirit than in that of the former. To open his way from Oftend to Sluys, it was necessary he should make himself master of the fort of Blackemberg. He accordingly laid siege to that fort.

His feeble attempts to raife the fiege of Sluys.

fort, and had begun to batter it with his can- BOOK non; but he was no fooner informed that the duke of Parma was upon his march to give him battle, than he drew off his troops from Blackemberg, retired hastily in the night to Oftend, and foon afterwards returned to Zealand. We altered the brand, of brown with alight broad

THE duke of Parma refumed with fresh ardour the operations of the fiege, and having at last, though with incredible labour, pushed his trenches near enough for erecting a battery. he foon laid a great part of the wall in ruins. He would then have attempted an affault, had he not perceived that the belieged had raised within the wall a half moon, which they had fortified in the strongest manner. Laying afide therefore all thoughts of taking the town by form, he refolved to employ the flower method of filling up the ditch, and working mines; and in these operations, against which the belieged made the most vigorous opposition, near three weeks were spent after the wall had been demolished. The besieged had re- Generous ceived certain intelligence that Leicester had thebesieged. given up all hopes of being able to relieve them, and they had now no more gunpowder left than was sufficient to serve them for ten or twelve hours longer. Six days before this time Groenvelt, and the other furviving officers, Vol. III. having

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having affembled together, were of opinion, that as they had no prospect of relief, it would not be dishonourable to surrender the place upon certain conditions; and they refolved that, in case these conditions were rejected, they would fet fire to the town, and endeavour to force their way fword in hand through the enemy's entrenchments. This refolution, with the articles of the furrender, which they committed to writing, and confirmed with an oath, was fent to the earl of Leicester, to serve for a vindication of their conduct. But their meffenger was discovered in swimming across the canal, and the paper feized and carried to the duke of Parma, whose prudence and respect for valour, though in an enemy from whom he had fuffered greatly, made him resolve to grant them those terms on which he had thus accidentally discovered they were so much determined to infift. Accordingly when, their gunpowder being almost spent, they offered to deliver the town, upon condition that they should march out with the honours of war, he instantly complied with their request. Their number had been reduced from fixteen or feventeen hundred, to seven hundred men. The loss of the besiegers was likewise very great. The cotemporary historians do not mention the particular number of the killed and wounded; but they concur in faying that Sluys cost the duke

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duke of Parma more than Nuys, Grave, and Bo Venloe together ",

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It afforded him great satisfaction under this calamity, that during the siege of Sluys, he had, without any bloodshed, acquired the town of Guelders, which was betrayed to him by a Scots colonel of the name of Paton. To this man, Leicester had committed the government of Guelders; but having taken offence at some part of his conduct, he had openly threatened to put another, of the name of Stuart, in his room. In order to avoid this affront, Paton entered into a correspondence with Hautpeine, whose troops were at that time in the neighbourhood of Guelders, and with his assistance he soon afterwards executed his persidious design.

Guelders betrayed so the Spaniards.

To compensate to the States for so many important places, as they had lost since their alliance with England, their forces had gained no advantage but the reduction of Axel, which prince Maurice took by a stratagem; and the fort of Engelem, which was compelled to surrender by count Hohenloe; who at the same

m Strado mentions the numbers killed on both fides; but his whole relation of this fiege is so exceedingly romantic, that no credit can be given to it.

Meteren, lib. xiv. p. 439. Bantivoglio, part ii, lib. iv. H 2 time in a rencounter, in which the latter lost his life.

AFTER Leicester's unsuccessful attempt to raise the siege of Sluys, he transported his troops to Brabant, and made another equally inglorious attempt to reduce the town and district of Hoogstraten. This was the last military enterprise which he undertook in the Netherlands, immediately after which he set out for Dort, whither the States had sent some of their number to wait his arrival.

Intrigues of Leicester.

This affembly was now more disgusted than ever with his conduct. They long had reason to fuspect, and they had lately received certain intelligence, that he had formed a defign to deprive them of their authority. A letter of his, writ from England to one of his fecretaries, had been intercepted, in which, after mentioning his intended return to the Low-Countries, he expressed, in strong terms, his discontent with the limited power which he had hitherto enjoyed as governor; fent instructions to be communicated to those who were privy to his defigns; and infinuated, that if he could not obtain a more extensive authority, it was the Queen's refolution, and his own, to abandon

don the provinces altogether, and to leave them B to their fate. mon Alinopoi di il bee forbees

ferred of this aftercarious to confider which THE States, alarmed with this intelligence, resolved to stand upon their guard against his machinations. Being still however unwilling, from their dread of Elizabeth's displeafure, to come to an open rupture with him, they took no notice of this letter, but exhorted him to reject fuch malignant counsels as might be offered by ill-defigning men, who, in order to promote their own felfish views, wished to fow the feeds of animofity and diffention. From this exhortation, Leicester easily perceived that the States had come to the knowledge of his designs. With great disingenuity he accused them of having violated their faith, by abridging that authority which they had intreated him to accept; and he threw the blame of all the misfortunes which had befallen the confederacy, partly on the States, and partly on prince Maurice and count Hohenloe. The States, he faid, had neglected to furnish him with the necessary supplies; and Maurice and Hohenloe had, on different pretences, refused to co-operate with him in his military enterprises. Of a writing which contained these and some other groundless accusations, copies were sent by his partizans into different parts of the provinces. The par-

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ties accused published a vindication of their conduct; and it is impossible, from what is preferved of this altercation, to confider what Leicester advanced, in any other light, but as the mean attempt of a person, equally weak and difingenuous, to blacken the characters of others, in order to conceal the cowardice and imprudence of which he himfelf was conscious. Such was the judgment formed of it by the impartial world, and by most of the inhabitants of the Netherlands. But there was fill a numerous party who espoused Leicester's defence, and promoted the execution of his defigns. The clergy were still as much attached to him as ever, and spared no pains to bring the people to a compliance with his will. Having with this view called a fynod or affembly, they appointed four of their number to prefent an address to the States, in which, besides exhorting them to attend to the true interest of the country, and the advancement of religion, they advised them to maintain concord with the queen of England, and the earl of Leicester.

The officioufness of the clergy. To this address the States made such a reply as the officiousness of those in whose name it was presented, seems to have deserved. "They had not been inattentive (they said) to those important objects which the synod

had

had recommended to their attention; and they BOOK could not be more folicitous than they had always been, to preferve inviolate those engagements into which they had entered with the queen of England and the earl of Leicester; but, in their turn, they must exhort the minifters to be on their guard against admitting among them persons, who, under the cloak of religion, made it their business to calumniate the civil magistrates. By persons such as these, who affected great zeal for religion, the church had been ruined in the fouthern provinces; and its ruin in the United Provinces would foon be accomplished, if an end were not speedily put to the practices of fuch deligning men. They concluded with exhorting the ministers to take warning from the fate of their brethren in Brabant and Flanders; and to remember, that the only way in which they ought to interfere in public affairs, was to favour those to whom the administration was committed, with the affistance of their prayers."

NEITHER this wholesome counsel, nor any Leicenter other measure which the States employed to frustrated. enlighten and alarm their countrymen, produced for some time the defired effect. cester still continued to carry on his intrigues in different places, and went from town to town, putting in practice every low art by H4 which

1587.

BOOK which he might increase the number of his partizans. In Friefland, North Holland, and even in Dort and Leyden, there were many who espoused his cause, and shewed themselves defirous to invest him with authority to controul the affembly of the States, notwithstanding the many striking proofs which he had given both of tyranny and folly. In Leyden a plot was laid for putting him in possession of that important city; but the conspirators were detected, condemned, and executed. And by the vigilance of the States, seconded by prince Maurice and William de Naffau, governor of Friefland, his defigns in other places were rendered equally ineffectual. Having come at last to perceive that he was not equal to the attempt upon which he had entered, he grew tired of his fituation, and in the month of December passed over to England, where, not long after his arrival, Elizabeth, either from a conviction of his incapacity, or from the defire of keeping him for the future near her person, required him to refign his government of the provinces; which he accordingly did, on the 27th of December, one thousand five hundred and eighty-feven".

He refigns the government.

Louis

THE flame which he had kindled was not fo foon extinguished. In some towns, the garri-

Meteren, p. 455.

fons,

PHILIP II. KING OF SPAIN.

fons, infligated by him or his emiffaries, openly BOOK despised the authority of the States. Against the garrison of Medembline, they were obliged to employ force; and in order to engage other garrisons to yield obedience to their commands, they had recourse to the interpolition of Elizabeth, through whose good offices internal tranquillity was at length restored.

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PARTI.

LIZABETH was the more folicitous to BOOK heal the divisions in the United Provinces, as the apprehended that the would foon have occasion for all the assistance which her allies could afford her. All Europe had refounded for some time with the noise of the preparations, which Philip was making, with a view to some important enterprise. He had been employed for feveral months in building ships of an extraordinary size, and in collecting stores for their equipment; while the duke of Parma had made fuch numerous levies in Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands, as shewed that

ditates the conquest of England,

The state of

XXI.

that he intended to take the field against the next campaign, with a much more powerful army than any which he had hitherto commanded.

His mo-

Almost ever fince the beginning of Philip's reign, a great proportion of his troops had been occupied, either in war with the Corfairs and Turks, in the reduction of the Morescoes, or in the conquest of Portugal. He had never fully exerted his strength against his revolted fubjects in the Netherlands. Nor had he found leifure to take vengeance upon Elizabeth, for the support which she had given them, and the infults which he had received from her in America, where feveral of his colonies had been plundered by her fleet. To these objects he now thought that his honour as well as his interest required that he should apply his principal attention. As he did not doubt that, with a much smaller force than he intended to employ, he should be able to compel the people in the Netherlands to return to their allegiance. he had begun his preparations, chiefly with an intention to invade England, and he aspired to the entire fubiection of that kingdom. But he hesitated for some time as to the manner in which he should proceed; and held frequent

By Sir Francis Drake, anno 1585.

meetings of his council to affift him in decid- B 0 0 ing, whether it was most expedient to begin with the invasion of England, or with the conquest of the United Provinces. Idiaquez, one of his principal officers of ftate, advised him to abandon altogether the former of these defigns,

"THE situation of England (said that pru- speech of Idiaques, dent statesman), which is surrounded on every fide with a tempestuous ocean, and has few harbours upon its coasts; the numerous forces which defend it; the genius of the people, and the nature of their government, concur in making me believe that it will be found almost imposfible to fucceed in an attempt to conquer it.

" THE English navy is alone equal to that of any other nation; and when joined with the ships belonging to the revolted provinces, must prove an overmatch for any fleet that can be fent from Spain. And even allowing that the King's forces should effectuate a descent, yet what ground is there to hope that they will be able either to subdue so great a nation, or to maintain, for any confiderable time, fuch conquests as may be made? In order to accomplish the most ordinary conquests, some favourable disposition in the people towards the conquerors is necessary; and in order to preserve them, there

B O O K XXI.

there is need for a continual fupply of troops, From no part of the English nation, has the King any reason to hope for affiftance in the intended enterprise. In the beginning of his reign, he had experience of the strong abhorrence which these islanders entertain of a foreign yoke. And he knows how difficult it must be to keep up a numerous army in England, besides all the other armies which are necessary for the defence of his hereditary, and his lately acquired dominions, If England should prove equally pernicious to Spain, as Flanders has done, would there not be reason to dread the consequences? Even the consequence of fuccess may prove fatal; how much more those which may arise from a disappointment, by which Elizabeth, being delivered from her apprehensions of danger at home, would be at greater leifure than ever to fupport the provinces in their rebellion; and by joining her maritime force with theirs, do infinite mischief to the Spanish dominions, both in Europe and America. In my opinion, therefore, it will be better to fuspend the design of invading England, and to employ both the fleet and army in the reduction of the Netherlands. The rebels will not long refift for great a force; and when they are subdued, the King, having fewer enemies to contend with,

with, will be much more able than at prefent BOOK to chaftife the queen of England."

THE duke of Parma, whom Philip confulted Duke of on this occasion, was of the fame opinion as opinion, Idiaquez; and added, That before the King could enter upon the English expedition with a probability of fuccess, it was necessary to acquire possession of some of the most considerable fea-ports in Zealand, for the accommodation of his fleet.

PHILIP was not naturally either bold or rash; Rejected by yet he refused to listen to these prudent coun-Blinded by the splendid success of his arms in the conquest of Portugal, he thought it impossible that Elizabeth could withstand the powerful armament which he intended to employ against her. And if England were subdued, the reduction of his revolted subjects would quickly follow, as they would then be deprived of the only foreign aid, by which they had been hitherto enabled to perfift in their rebellion. Nor would the conquest of the former, he thought, be either fo tedious or fo difficult as that of the latter; because England was every where an open country, and the English, trusting to their infular fituation, had neglected to provide any fortified towns to retard the progress of an enemy. A single battle by sea,

B O O K. XXI. and another by land, would decide the contest; and as the fleet which he was preparing was greatly superior to any which Elizabeth could equip, so he could not suppose that her land-forces, undisciplined, and unaccustomed to war, would be able to resist his veteran troops, which had been long enured to victory, and were commanded by the greatest general and the bravest officers in the world.

State of Europe.

He was not ignorant how much reason the other European powers had to be jealous of his design; but he considered that happily they were at present either not inclined, or not in a capacity, to prevent him from carrying it into execution. The emperor of Germany was his friend and ally. The attention of the northern potentates was wholly engrossed with the internal administration of their dominions. And the French monarch, who was more deeply interested than any other in opposing him, could with difficulty support himself upon the throne against his rebellious subjects.

But there was nothing which contributed more to confirm him in his purpose, than the approbation which it received from the Pope, who, although it has been afferted that no

Sextus V.

person

person entertained a higher admiration of the # 0.0 K character of Elizabeth, confidered her as the most formidable enemy that the church had ever feen upon a throne. She had not indeed. on any occasion, treated her Catholic subjects with that inhuman cruelty, of which Philip had fet her an example in his treatment of the Protestants; but she had shewn herself intent on extirpating the Catholic religion from every country in Europe, to which her power and influence could reach. For almost thirty years the had been the chief support of the Protestants in Germany, the Netherlands, and France. She had entirely abolished the Popish faith in Scotland, as well as in her own dominions: and not fatisfied of depriving the unfortunate Mary of her liberty, she had lately, after the farce of a folemn trial, ordered that princess to be condemned as a traitor, and to fuffer death. This action, for which Elizabeth was severely censured by Protestants as well as Papists, excited in the violent mind of the Pontiff, the highest degree of rage and indignation. With these passions his interest concurred; and the hope of feeing England, which had formerly been the most precious jewel of the triple crown, brought back to its ancient obedience to the Holy See. He approved highly therefore of Philip's intended enterprize, exhorting him to persevere in his design, and gave him affurances VOL. III.

B O O K XXI. assurances that he would be friend him in the execution of it to the utmost of his power. Next to an insatiable thirst after dominion, it had ever been Philip's principal ambition to be considered as the guardian of the church; and his vanity was not a little flattered at this time with having the sovereign Pontist for his associate.

Artifice of Philip to deceive Elizabeth. HE proceeded therefore with much alacrity in completing his preparations. But although he resolved to spare no expence or pains to secure success; yet, that he might find Elizabeth unprepared, he concealed with care the purpose for which his armament was intended. A part of his sleet, he said, was to co-operate with his land-forces in the reduction of Holland, and the rest to be employed in the desence of his dominions in America.

ELIZABETH had too much penetration to be fo easily deceived by the artifices of a prince, with whose duplicity she was so thoroughly acquainted; and in the spring of the year one thousand sive hundred and eighty-seven, she sent sir Francis Drake with a sleet to the coast of Spain to interrupt his preparations. By

this

Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. iv. See a very different account in Gregorio Leti's Life of Sixtus, lib. vii.

this gallant fearman, the Spanish ships of war BOOK which had been fent to oppose him were difperfed, and near a hundred veffels filled with naval flores and provisions, besides two large galleons, were destroyed in the harbour of Cadiz. Drake then fet fail for the Azores, where he took a rich carrack in her way from the East Indies, and afterwards returned to England loaded with spoils, having by this bold and fortunate adventure rendered it impossible for Philip to execute his enterprise against England till the following year.

Notwithstanding these hostilities, Philip Emidels still affected to desire that all the grounds of for peace. difference between him and Elizabeth might be removed, and gave orders to the duke of Parma to propose a negociation for peace. It is not probable that the Queen was deceived by this, any more than by his former artifice. She resolved however to appear to be caught in the fnare: she pretended to believe his declaration with regard to the destination of his fleet, and to liften to his proposal of negociating an agreement. She readily accepted of the mediation of the king of Denmark; and that her conduct might have the greater appearance of fincerity, the urged the States to fend ambaffadors to Bourbourg, the place appointed for the conferences, and ordered her envoy to repre-I 2 fent

B O O K fent to them the expediency of putting a period to the warr

THE States were much alarmed with her proposal, and suspected that, in order to avert the storm which threatened her, she had resolved to facrifice the confederacy, and to deliver up to Philip the Dutch towns in her possession. She sound it necessary to remove their apprehensions on this head, by declaring, that as she had not the remotest thoughts of forsaking them, so she would never consent to any terms of peace inconsistent with their security.

SHE could not however perfuade them to fend ambaffadors to the congress. "They were deeply sensible, they informed her, of the weight of those considerations, which her ambaffador had urged, to induce them to think of peace. They lamented that spirit of discord which had feized on some towns of the confederacy, and they heard with great anxiety, of those mighty fleets and armies which the king of Spain was preparing for their destruction. But their fituation, though bad in some respects, was far from being desperate; they were still in possession of more than fixty towns and forts, each of which could make a vigorous relistance against the enemy. In the two years during which the earl of Leicester had governed

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governed them, eight millions of guilders had BOOK been raised for the public service, and under a ! prudent administration they would be able not only to continue to afford the fame expence, but even to augment it. But although their fituation were in reality as ill as forme had represented, it could not serve any good purpose to treat of peace with the king of Spain, who was unalterably determined never to grant them peace on such conditions as either their interest or their consciences would permit them to accept. And from past experience they were persuaded, that their sending ambassadors to the congress would be attended with the most pernicious confequences. It would create in many persons such despair with regard to the stability of the present government, as would determine some to change their religion, and others to leave the Netherlands. It would raise the spirits of the Catholics, and induce both them and the Protestants to with-hold their share of the public expences; the former, from the view of forwarding the peace, and the latter, from that of retiring into foreign parts. Thus, both the fleet and army, being ill paid, would become refractory, the commanders of towns and fhips would provide for their future fecurity, by entering into fecret practices with the enemy; and in the midst of that fedition. confusion, and treachery that would ensue, it I 3 would

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BOOK XXI.

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would not be in the power of the States, or of the Queen, to prevent the people from accepting whatever terms of peace the king of Spain should think fit to impose.

In these reasons Elizabeth found it necessary to acquiesce; but she persisted in the resolution which fhe had formed with regard to her own conduct, and ordered her ambassadors to repair to Bourbourg. In the conferences held there, various terms of accommodation were proposed, with no fincerity on the part of Spain, and with little hope of fuccess on the part of England. The Spanish ministers still continued to affure those of England, that no invafion of that kingdom was intended; and, confidering how long this congress subsisted (for it was not diffolved till the arrival of the Spanish fleet in the channel), it should feem that their affeverations were not wholly difregarded by Elizabeth4.

Elizabeth's preparations. This artifice however did not prevent her from putting her kingdom into a posture of defence. An army was raised amounting to eighty thousand men, twenty thousand of whom were stationed on the south coast of the island, twenty-two thousand foot and a thousand horse

Meteren, lib. xiv. p. 459. Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. iv.

were posted at Tilbury in Essex, under the BOOK earl of Leicester, and the remainder, commanded by lord Hunsdown, were kept near the Queen's person, in readiness to march against the enemy wherefoever they should attempt to land. Elizabeth did not trust implicitly at this juncture either to her own judgment, or that of her counfellors of state; lord Gray of Wilton, fir Francis Knolles, fir John Norris, fir Richard Bingham, and fir Roger Williams, officers of diffinguished reputation, were appointed to confider of the measures proper to be purfued; and by their advice, all the feaports which lay most conveniently for a descent were fortified; the militia was raised, their arms and manner of fighting afcertained, and a resolution formed, that if, notwithstanding the precautions taken, it should be found impossible to prevent the enemy from landing, all the country round should be laid waste, and a general engagement avoided till the feveral armies were combined.

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WHILE these prudent measures were pursued at land, Elizabeth exerted herself strenuously in the equipment of her fleet. When she began her preparations, it did not amount to more than thirty ships, and none of these were nearly equal in fize to those of the enemy. But this disadvantage was in some measure compensated I 4

B O € K XXI.

penfated by the skill and dexterity of the English failors; and the number of her ships was foon augmented, through the alacrity and zeal which her subjects displayed in her defence. By her wife administration she had acquired their esteem and confidence. The animosity against her person and government, which the differences in religion had excited in the minds of fome, was at prefent swallowed up in that universal abhorrence which the Catholics as well as the Protestants entertained of the tyranny of Spain. Great pains were taken to keep alive and heighten that abhorrence. Accounts were fpread of the horrid barbarities which the Spaniards had perpetrated in the Netherlands and America: descriptions were drawn, in the blackest colours, of the inhuman cruelties of the inquisition, and pictures were dispersed of the various instruments of torture employed by the inquisitors, of which, it was faid, there was abundant store on board the Spanish fleet, These, and such other considerations, made a ftrong impression, not upon Elizabeth's Protestant subjects only, but likewise upon the Catholics; who, although the Pope had published a bull of excommunication against her, yet resolved not to yield to the Protestants either in loyalty to their fovereign, or in zeal

Meteren, lib. xv.

for the independency of the state. The whole B 0.0 kingdom was of one mind and spirit: some Catholics entered into the army as volunteers, and others joined with the Protestants in equipping armed vessels. Every maritime town fitted out one or more. The citizens of London furnished thirty, although only fifteen were required of them; and between forty and fifty were equipped by the nobility and gentry throughout the kingdom. But all these ships were of finall fize, in comparison of those which composed the Spanish fleet; and there was still much ground for the most anxious apprehensions with regard to the final iffue of the war.

No person felt greater anxiety on this occafion than Elizabeth; the principal object of whose prudent politics for thirty years, had been to avoid the critical fituation to which she was now reduced. She did not, however, fuffer any fymptoms of uneafiness to appear, but wore at all times a placid and animated countenance; and in her whole behaviour displayed an undaunted spirit, which commanded admiration and applause,

THE States of Holland, in the mean time, Preparawere not inattentive to the approaching dan- conduct of ger, nor did they think themselves less interested to provide against it, than if Philip had intended

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B 0 0 K XXI

intended to begin his operations with an attack upon the Netherlands. From their fears of an immediate attack, they were delivered by intelligence of the enormous fize of the Spanish ships, to which the coasts of Holland and Zealand were inaccessible: They turned their principal attention therefore to the affiftance of their ally; and kept their fleet, confilting of more than eighty ships, prepared for action. At Elizabeth's defire, they fent thirty of that number to cruize between Calais and Dover: and, afterwards, when the duke of Parma's design of transporting his army to England was certainly known, they ordered Justin de Nassau, admiral of Zealand, to join lord Seymour, one of the English admirals, with five and thirty ships, to block up those sea-ports in Flanders where the duke intended to embark f

The principal English sleet was stationed at Plymouth, and the chief command of it was given to Charles lord Howard of Essingham, who had under him as vice-admirals, sir Francis Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, three of the most expert and bravest seamen in the world.

The Spanish Armada. In the beginning of May one thousand five hundred and eighty-eight, Philip's preparations,

Meteren, lib. xv.

which

which had fo long kept all Europe in amazement and suspence were brought to a conclufion. That Armada, to which the Spaniards, in confidence of fuccess, gave the name of Invincible, confifted of one hundred and fifty ships, most of which were greatly superior in strength and fize to any that had been seen before. It had on board near twenty thousand foldiers, and eight thousand failors, besides two thousand volunteers of the most distinguished families in Spain. It carried two thousand fix hundred and fifty great guns, was victualled for half a year, and contained fuch a quantity of military stores, as only the Spanish monarch, enriched by the treasures of the Indies and America, could fupply.

PHILIP's preparations in the Netherlands Duke of were not less advanced than those in Spain. Parma's Besides a sourishing army of thirty thousand tions. foot and four thousand horse, which the duke of Parma had affembled in the neighbourhood of Nieuport and Dunkirk; that active general had, with incredible labour, provided a great number of flat-bottomed veffels, fit for tranfporting both horse and foot, and had brought failors to navigate them from the towns in the Baltic. Most of these vessels had been built at Antwerp, and as he durst not venture to bring them from thence by fea to Nieuport, left

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BOOK left they should have been intercepted by the Dutch, he was obliged to fend them along the Scheld to Ghent, from Ghent to Bruges, by the canal which joins these towns, and from Bruges to Nieuport, by a new canal which he dug on the present occasion. This laborious undertaking, in which feveral thousand workmen had been employed, was already finished, and the duke now waited for the arrival of the Spanish fleet; hoping, that as soon as it should approach, the Dutch and English ships that cruised upon the coast would retire into their harbours.

Death of the Spanish admiral.

THE Armada would have left Lisbon in the beginning of May, but the marquis de Santa Croce, who had been appointed admiral, was, at the very time fixed for its departure, feized with a violent fever, of which he died in a few days; and, by a fingular fatality, the duke de Paliano, the vice-admiral, died likewise at the fame time. Santa Croce being reckoned the first naval officer in Spain, Philip had much reason to lament his death, and it should seem that he found it extremely difficult to fill his place, fince he named for his fuccessor the duke de Medina Sidonia, a nobleman of confiderable reputation, but entirely unacquainted with maritime affairs. This defect in the commander in chief, Philip supplied in some measure,

PHILIP II. KING OF SPAIN.

measure, by giving him Martinez de Recaldo, BOOK a feaman of great experience, for his viceadmiral.

In these arrangements so much time was loft, that the fleet could not leave Lifbon till from Lifbon. the twenty-ninth of May. It had not advanced far in its voyage to Corunna, at which place it was to receive fome troops and stores, when it was overtaken by a violent storm and disperfed. All the ships however reached Corunna, though confiderably damaged, except four s. They were repaired with the utmost diligence, the king fending messengers every day to hasten their departure, yet several weeks passed before they could be put in a condition to refume the voyage.

da fets fail

In the mean time a report was brought to England, that the Armada had fuffered fo much by the ftorm, as to be unfit for proceeding in the intended enterprise; and so well attested did this intelligence appear to queen Elizabeth, that, at her defire, fecretary Walfingham wrote to the English admiral, requirdrawn up in the form of a one

seem to block minds where

In three of these, the galley-slaves, confishing of English, French, and Turks, taking advantage of the confusion occasioned by the storm, overpowered the Spaniards, and carried the ships into a harbour on the coast of Bayonne. Meteren, p. 476.

BOOK 1588,

ing him to lay up four of his largest ships, and to discharge the seamen. Lord Howard was happily less credulous on this occasion than either Elizabeth or Walfingham, and defired that he might be allowed to retain these ships in the fervice, even though it should be at his own expence, till more certain information were received. In order to procure it, he fet fail with a brisk north wind for Corunna, intending, in case he should find the Armada so much disabled as had been reported, to attempt to complete its destruction. On the coast of Spain he received intelligence of the truth: at the fame time the wind having changed from north to fouth, he began to dread that the Spaniards might have failed for England, and therefore he returned without delay to his former station at Plymouth.

Arrivalof the Armada

July 30th.

Soon after his arrival, he was informed that in the shan. the Armada was in fight. He immediately weighed anchor, and failed out of the harbour. still uncertain of the course which the enemy intended to pursue. On the next day he perceived them steering directly towards him, drawn up in the form of a crescent, which extended feven miles from one extremity to another. It was for some time believed that Plymouth was the place of their destination; and it was the opinion of many persons in that age,

that their enterprize would have been more B 0.0 fuccessful than it proved, had they landed there, and not proceeded up the channel. By doing this, it was supposed, they would have drawn Elizabeth's whole force to the fouthwest coast of the island, and have rendered it easier for the duke of Parma to transport his troops. But in this expectation it is probable they would have been extremely disappointed, as the Dutch fleet alone would have been able to block up the fea-ports in Flanders; the English sleet might have destroyed the Armada had it once entered Plymouth harbour, and Elizabeth's land-forces would have been an over-match for all the Spanish troops which the Armada had on board. But if the duke Planof opede Medina ever intended to make a descent at Plymouth, he foon changed his defign, and adhered closely afterwards to the execution of the plan prescribed to him by the court of Spain. This was to fleer quite through the channel till he should reach the coast of Flanders, and after driving away the Dutch and English ships, by which the harbours of Niesport and Dunkirk were belieged, to escort the duke of Parma's army to England, and to land there the forces that were on board the fleet. In compliance with these instructions, he proceeded in his course, without turning aside to the English, oduci se vila skima touko

fented by

B O O K who were drawn up along the coast, and ready to receive him.

Prudent and gallant conduct of lord Howard.

LORD Howard, confidering that the Spaniards would probably be much superior to him in close fight, by reason of the size of their ships, and the number of their troops, wifely resolved to content himself with harassing them in their voyage, and with watching attentively all the advantages which might be derived from florms; cross winds, and fuch like fortuitous accidents. It was not long before he discerned a favourable opportunity of attacking the vice-admiral Recolds. This he did in person, and on that occasi in displayed so much dexterity in working his hip, and in loading and firing his guns, as greatly alarmed the Spaniards for the fate of the vice-admiral. From that time they kept much closer to one another; notwithstanding which, the English on the same day attacked one of the largest galeasses. Other Spanish ships came up in time to her relief, but in their hurry, one of the principal galleons, which had a great part of the treasure on board, ran foul of another ship, and had one of her masts broken. In confequence of this misfortune she fell behind, and was taken by fir Francis Drake; who, on the fame day, took another capital ship which had been accidentally fet on fire.

SEVERAL

SEVERAL other rencounters happened, and BOOK in all of them the English proved victorious, through the great advantage which they derived from the lightness of their ships, and the dexterity of the failors. The Spaniards in that age did not fufficiently understand nautical mechanics, to be able to avail themselves of the unufual magnitude of their ships.. The English failed round them, approached or retired with a velocity that filled them with amazement, and did infinitely greater execution with their cannon, for while every shot of theirs proved effectual, their ships suffered very little damage from the enemy, whose guns were planted too high, and generally spent their force in air.

THE Spaniards however still continued to advance till they came opposite to Calais: to Calais. there the duke de Medina having ordered them to cast anchor, he sent information to the duke of Parma of his arrival, and intreated him to haften the embarkation of his forces. Farnese fet out immediately from Bruges, where the messenger found him, for Nieuport, and he began to put his troops on board. But at the fame time he informed Medina, that, agreeably to the King's instructions, the vessels which he had prepared, were proper only for transporting the troops, but were utterly unfit for fight-VOL. III. ing;

The Armas

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BOOK XXI. 1588.

ing; and for this reason, till the Armada were brought still nearer, and the coast cleared of the Dutch ships which had blocked up the harbours of Nieuport and Dunkirk, he could not ftir from his present station, without exposing his army to certain ruin, the consequence of which would probably be the entire loss of the Netherlands.

Is thrown into confufion by the English fire-Thips.

In compliance with this request, the Armada was ordered to advance, and it had arrived within fight of Dunkirk, between the English fleet on the one hand, and the Dutch on the other, when a fudden calm put a stop to all its motions. In this fituation the three fleets re-August 7th. mained for one whole day. About the middle of the night a breeze sprung up, and lord Howard had recourse to an expedient which had been happily devised on the day before. Having filled eight ships with pitch, fulphur, and other combustible materials, he fet fire to them, and fent them before the wind against the different divisions of the Spanish fleet.

> WHEN the Spaniards beheld these ships in flames approaching towards them, it brought to their remembrance the havoc which had been made by the fireships employed against the duke of Parma's bridge at the fiege of Antwerp. The darkness of the night increased the terror with

with which their imaginations where overwhelm- B O O ed, and the panic flew from one end of the fleet to the other. Each crew, anxious only for their own prefervation, thought of nothing but how to escape from the present danger. Some of them took time to weigh their anchors, but others cut their cables, and fuffered their ships to drive with blind precipitation, without confidering whether they did not thereby expose themselves to a greater danger than that which they were fo folicitous to avoid. In this confusion the ships ran foul of one another: the shock was dreadful, and several of them received fo much damage as to be rendered unfit for future use.

WHEN day-light returned, lord Howard had Battle bethe satisfaction to perceive that his stratagem tween the had fully produced the defired effect. The enemy were still in extreme disorder, and their ships widely separated and dispersed. His seet had lately received a great augmentation by the ships fitted out by the nobility and gentry, and by those under lord Seymour, who had left Justin de Nassau as alone sufficient to guard the coast of Flanders. Being bravely seconded by Sir Francis Drake, and all the other officers, he made hafte to improve the advantage which was now presented to him, and attacked the enemy in different quarters at the fame time K 2. with

1588. August 8th.

BOOK with the utmost impetuosity and ardour. The engagement began at four in the morning, and lasted till six at night. The Spaniards displayed in every rencounter the most intrepid bravery; but, from the causes already mentioned, they did very little execution against the English. while many of their own ships were greatly damaged, and ten of the largest were either run aground, or funk, or compelled to furrender.

Loffes fuftained by the Spaniards.

THE principal galeass, commanded by Moncada, having Mauriquez, the inspector-general, on board, with three hundred galley-flaves and four hundred foldiers, was driven ashore near She was quickly followed by fome Calais. English pinnaces, and these were supported by the admiral's long-boat, in which he had fent a body of felect foldiers to their affiftance. Moncada himself, and almost all the Spaniards, were either killed, or drowned in attempting to The rowers were fet at liberty. reach the shore. About fifty thousand ducats were found on board. Mauriquez escaped, and was the first who carried the news of the difaster of the fleet to Spain.

ONE of the capital ships having been long battered by an English captain of the name of Cross, was funk in the time of the engage-

ment.

ment. A few only of the crew were faved, BOOK who related, that one of the officers on board having proposed to furrender, he was killed by another who was enraged at his proposal; that this other was killed by the brother of the first: and that it was in the midst of this bloody scene, which paints the ferocious character of the Spaniards, that the ship had gone to the bottom .

THE fate of two other of the Spanish galleons is particularly mentioned by the cotemporary historians. One of them was called the St. Philip, and the other the St. Matthew, which had on board, besides several other nobility, two general officers, Don Francis Toledo, of the family of Orgas, and Don Diego Pimentel, brother to the marquis of Tomnarez. After an obstinate engagement, in which the admiral's ship fought along with them, they were obliged to run ashore on the coast of Flanders, where they were taken by the Dutch. Toledo was drowned, and Pimentel, and all the rest who furvived, were made prisoners.

THE duke de Medina was much dejected at The duke these misfortunes, and still more when he re- despairs of flected on the superior skill of the enemy. For it is well attested, that in all the engagements

de Medina

8 Meteren and Grotius.

K 3

which

1588.

BOOK which had passed since the first appearance of the Armada in the channel, the English had loft only one small ship, and about a hundred men. Animated by their past success with fanguine hopes of final victory, they were now more formidable than ever. Medina dreaded, from a continuance of the combat, the entire destruction of his fleet. He could not without the greatest danger remain any longer in his present situation, and much less could he venture to approach nearer to the coast of Flanders.

Caufe of his despair.

IT now appeared how great an error Philip had committed, in neglecting to fecure fome commodious harbours in Zealand. He had from the first supposed that the enemy's ships would fly to their respective ports, as soon as his stupendous Armada should appear. this Armada had been made unfit for the purpose for which it was designed, by means of that enormous expence which he bestowed in order to render it invincible. In constructing it, no attention had been given to the nature of those narrow seas in which it was to be employed; and the consequence of this important error was, that even if the English fleet had been unable to contend with the Spaniards in the deeper parts of the channel, yet they would have prevented them from landing: and the Dutch

Dutch fleet lying in shallow water, to which BOOK the galleons durst not approach, would still have kept their station, and have rendered it impossible for the Spanish sleet and army to act in concert.

This the duke de Medina at length per- Heresolves ceived, and he did not hefitate in refolving to spain. abandon the further profecution of his enterprise. The only subject of his deliberation now was, how he might, with the least difficulty and danger, get back to Spain. Had he been ever fo much inclined to return through the channel, in which he must have been continually haraffed by the enemy, yet the wind, which blew ftrong from the fouth, would have prevented him. He therefore refolved to fail northwards, and to make the circuit of the British isles.

This resolution was no sooner understood by the English admiral, than having dispatched lord Seymour with a part of the fleet, to join the Dutch in watching the motions of the duke of Parma, he fet fail himself with the greater part of it, in pursuit of the Spaniards. He followed close in the rear for three days, without attacking them. This he declined, from the apprehension of his not having a sufficient quantity of gun-powder, with which he had been K 4

B O O K XXI.

been ill supplied by the public offices. Had he not been deterred from renewing his attack by this provoking circumstance, he might have forced the Spaniards to an engagement off Flamborough-head; and it is afferted by a respectable cotemporary historian, that so great was the distress of the Spanish sleet, and such the admiral's dread of the long and dangerous voyage before him, that he would have surrendered without resistance, in case he had been attacked. But he was saved from the disgrace in which this action would have involved his name, through the necessity under which the English admiral found himself of returning to England, to supply the desiciency of his stores.

Difasters which befel the Armada. LORD Howard had reason to be incensed against those, by whose negligence he was thus disabled from completing the glory which his gallant conduct had procured him. In the issue, however, it would have been unfortunate if he had delayed his return. The two sleets sailed in opposite directions, were not far distant from each other, when a dreadful storm arose. The English reached home, though not without difficulty, yet without sustaining any considerable loss. But the Spaniards were exposed to the storm in all its rage, and became no less

Grotius.

objects

objects of pity to their enemies, than they had BOOK lately been of dread and terror. Having hitherto kept near each other, left the English should have renewed the attack, this circumstance proved the first cause of their disasters. The ships were driven violently against each other, and thereby many of them were rendered an easy prey to the fury of the waves. At length they were dispersed. In order to enable them to ride out the storm, the horses, mules, and baggage were thrown over-board. This precaution was of advantage only to fuch of the ships as were stronger, or more fortunate than the rest. Some of them were dashed to pieces on the rocks of Norway, or funk in the middle of the ocean. Others were thrown upon the coasts of Scotland, and the Western Isles. And more than thirty were driven by another ftorm, which overtook them from the west, on different parts of the coast of Ireland. Of these, some afterwards reached home in the most shattered condition, under the viceadmiral Recaldo; others were shipwrecked among the rocks and shallows; and of those which reached the shore, the crews were barbaroufly murdered; from an apprehension, it was pretended, that, in a country where there were fo many disaffected Catholics, it would have been dangerous to shew mercy to so great a number of the enemy. The duke de Medina having

B O O K XXI. 1588. having kept out in the open seas, escaped shipwreck, and arrived at Saint Andero in Biscay about the end of September.

THE calamities of the Spaniards did not end with their arrival in Spain. Two of the galleons which had withstood the storm, were accidentally set on fire, and consumed to ashes in the harbour. Great numbers, especially of the nobility and gentry, accustomed to a life of ease and pleasure, had died at sea; and many more died afterwards of diseases occasioned by the hardships they had undergone.

Very different accounts are given by different historians, of the total loss sustained. Some affert that it amounted to thirty-two ships, and ten thousand men; but others, without pretending to ascertain the number of men, which could not, they say, be less than sisteen thousand, affirm that more than eighty ships were taken, destroyed, or lost. This dreadful calamity was sensibly selt all over Spain, and there was scarcely a single samily of rank in the kingdom that did not go into mourning for the death of some near relation; insomuch that

Philip

i As the president De Thou, who lived at the time of this memorable event, pretends not to determine to which of these relations the greatest regard is due, it would be in vain at this time to attempt to decide betwixt them.

Philip dreading the effect which this universal BOOK face of forrow might produce upon the minds of the people, imitated the conduct of the Roman senate, after the battle of Cannæ, and published an edict to abridge the time of public mourning k.

WHILE the people of Spain were thus over- Rejoicings whelmed with affliction, there was nothing to in England and Holland. be heard in England and the United Provinces but the voice of festivity and joy. In Holland medals were ftruck in commemoration of the happy event; and in both countries, days of folemn thankfgiving to Heaven were appointed for their deliverance. Elizabeth went for this purpose to St. Paul's cathedral, seated in a triumphal chariot, and furrounded with her minifters and nobles, amidst a great number of flags and colours which had been taken from the enemy; while the citizens were ranged in arms on each fide of the streets through which she passed. Nor did the destruction of the Armada give joy only to the English and Dutch. All Europe had trembled at the thoughts of its fuccess. For although it can hardly be supposed that Philip was so romantic as to flatter

k Meteren, lib. xiv. Grotii Historia, lib. i. Campana, Decad. vii. lib. i. Ferreras and Thuanus.

himfelf

XXI. 1588.

BOOK himself with the hopes of attaining universal monarchy, yet it is not to be imagined that he aspired only at the conquest of England and Holland. He had before this time formed the plan, which he afterwards purfued, of fubduing France: nor can it be believed that any thing less would have satisfied his ambition, than the subjection of every Protestant state in Europe, and the utter extirpation of the reformed religion.

Philip's magranimous behaviour.

Hrs ambition was, on this occasion, severely mortified. But as he possessed in a high degree the art of concealing his emotions, he received intelligence of the difaster that had befallen him, with an appearance of magnanimity and refignation to the will of Heaven, which, if it was not affected, deserved the highest praise. He returned thanks to God, that the calamity was not greater. He issued orders to have the utmost care taken of the fick and wounded, who had furvived the general catastrophe. And instead of forbidding the duke of Medina Sidonia to come to court, as is alleged by fome historians, he wrote to him in the most obliging terms, expressing his gratitude for the zeal which he had discovered in his service; and observing, that no man could answer for the fuccess of an enterprise, which, like that wherein the duke had been engaged, depended on the BOO winds and waves 1.

PHILIP's behaviour towards the duke of Parma on this difficult occasion, contained the fame difplay of justice that appeared in his letter to Medina Sidonia. Notwithstanding the many proofs which Farnese had exhibited in the fight of all Europe, of indefatigable vigour and activity, as well as of heroic valour, yet the failure of the expedition against England was by fome afcribed to his negligence in making the necessary preparations, and by others to his excessive caution or timidity. But Philip refused to listen to these groundless calumnies. He still continued to repose in the duke his wonted confidence; and testified towards him all that attachment and efteem which his conduct in the Netherlands had deserved. truth is, that as the principal error in conducting the expedition had been committed, by neglecting the duke of Parma's advice, fo no person was more deeply interested in its success; fince, if the Armada had opened a passage for his troops, the whole direction of the enterprise would have belonged to him, and the noblest opportunity, to which his ambition could aspire, have been given, of exerting those illustrious

1 Ferreras, part xv. Strada, lib. v.

military

B O O K military talents which have acquired him fuch distinguished renown.

THE duke had the greater reason to entertain the hopes of victory, in case his army could have been transported to England, as Elizabeth had, from her partiality for the earl of Leicester, beflowed the chief command of her land-forces on that nobleman, who was fo little entitled, either by his courage or his abilities, to fo great a trust. Her good fortune, or more properly the kind providence of Heaven, fo conspicuously exercised in her behalf, faved her from the confequences with which this unjustifiable step might have been attended. It was perhaps the only imprudent measure of which, at this difficult crisis, she can be justly accused; and she fully atoned for it by the wisdom, vigour, and fortitude which she difplayed in every other part of her conduct.

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de all'appropri LIZABETH's fituation now was ex- Situation of tremely different from what it had ever been fince her accession to the throne. Having been delivered some time before the present period from the queen of Scots, who had long been a principal cause of her inquietude; she had found the art of appealing the refentment, and even of conciliating the favour, of the fon of that unfortunate princess. She had united her Catholic and Protestant subjects in her defence, and had triumphed over her implacable enemy, the king of Spain. She had not the same reason as formerly to dread the power of that monarch, which he had exerted in vain for her destruction, and she had very little reason to apprehend that he would soon renew his attempt to invade her dominions. To prevent this, by furnishing him with employment elsewhere, had been long her principal motive for taking fuch deep concern in the affairs of the Netherlands. This motive did not subfift in the same degree of force as formerly, yet she resolved to adhere faithfully to her engagements with the States, and still to affift and support them. After Leicester's refignation,

XXI.

loughby.

fignation, she had conferred the command of her troops in the Netherlands upon lord Willoughby, subjecting this nobleman, however, to the authority of the States, and leaving the command in chief to prince Maurice, to whom the States themselves had lately committed it.

Prince Maurice.

IT was not gratitude alone, or a respect for the memory of the late prince of Orange, that determined the confederated provinces to repose so great a trust at this perilous conjuncture in his fon, who was at this time only in the twenty-first year of his age. Maurice had, from his earliest youth, given proof of superior prudence and capacity; and his conduct afterwards fulfilled the most fanguine expectations of his countrymen. With much less moderation and felf-command, and less too of the art of governing the minds of men, which William possessed in so eminent a degree, Maurice was superior to his father in military accomplishments, and of these the confederacy flood more in need at the present period, than of political abilities.

MAURICE had no opportunity of exercising his talents for war, from the time of Leicester's departure till the sate of the Spanish Armada was decided. A great number of his best troops had been put on board the sleet com-

manded by Justin de Nassau; all the garrisons BOOK of the maritime towns had been augmented, left the Spaniards should have attempted to make a descent; and there was no body of forces left, sufficient to enable him to take advantage of the duke of Parma's inactivity, by undertaking any military enterprize.

THE first opportunity of action was afforded him by a resolution which the Duke formed, as foon as he perceived there was no longer flege of Berany prospect of invading England, to besiege zoom. the town of Bergen-op-Zoom. This town, as its name imports, is fituated on the river Zoom, at a little distance from the place where that river falls into the Scheld; and by this last river the territory of Bergen is separated from the isle of Tolen. Farnese thinking it necessary towards the success of his intended enterprize, to be master of this island, sent count Charles of Mansveldt with a body of eight hundred foot to take possession of it; and in order to conceal his defign, he ordered them to make a feint of marching towards Heusden. This artifice however had not the defired fuccess. Maurice had taken care to have both Bergen and Tolen properly furnished with troops for their defence.

Parma meditates the

AT low water it is practicable to pass over to Tolen upon foot, and in this way count Vol. III. Mansveldt

1588.

BOOK Mansveldt endeavoured to approach it. But the governor, count Solmes, was fo well prepared to receive him, that Manfveldt was foon obliged to abandon his attempt, and in his retreat he loft about four hundred men. In the mean time the duke of Parma had advanced with his army, and invested the town on the land fide, without having met with any confiderable opposition. But the besieged beheld his operations with great indifference; their communication with Holland and Zealand was still as free and open as before. In order to intercept it, they knew that the enemy must first reduce two ftrong forts which ftood between the town and the Scheld, and this they trufted could not be accomplished before the approach of winter.

October.

He is deceived by two British foldiers.

THE Duke immediately began his operations with an attack upon one of these forts; but before he had made any confiderable progress, he conceived hopes of acquiring possesfion of it in a way much more easy and expeditious than by open force. Two foldiers belonging to the garrison, whom some historians call Scots, and others English, having gone over to Farnese, offered to deliver the fort to him, on condition of his granting them a fuitable reward for fo great a fervice. Farnele lent a willing ear to their propofal, and gave them

them the most flattering promises; but as he B O of the fill suspected them of infincerity, he made them confirm what they had told him by an oath, and required that they should be carried bound in the midst of the foldiers whom he intended to employ in executing the plan which they had fuggested. To this, as well as to the oath required from them they readily agreed. The Duke could no longer remain distrustful, and ordered De Levya, one of his bravest officers, to be ready immediately after fun-let, with three thousand infantry, to advance towards the fort. De Levya fet out at the time appointed, and arrived at the gate when it was beginning to grow dark. Upon a fignal given by the two British foldiers the port was opened, but no fooner had about fifty Spaniards entered, than the portcullis was let down, and all the rest excluded. Those who had entered perceived the treachery of their guides, but being more folicitous to fave their own lives than to take vengeance on the traitors, they fuffered them to escape, and the Spaniards themselves were instantly surrounded by the garrison, and either put to the fword or taken prisoners.

Of those who were without, only such as were near the gate were acquainted with what had happened, while the reft who were ignorant of it still pressing forward, made it impos-

fible

BOOK XXI. fible for the foremost to retire. These men, rendered desperate by their perilous situation, attempted to scale the ramparts, but they were soon repulsed by the garrison, who were every where upon their guard. The guns of the fort began to play upon them. The darkness of the night increased their confusion, and they sell into an ambush which the garrison had prepared. A great number was killed, and many were swallowed up in the mud and water with which the fort was surrounded.

The Duke abandons his attempt on Bergen. AFTER this misfortune the duke of Parma despaired of succeeding in his enterprise. Heavy rains had lately fallen, his troops began to grow sickly, and all the country round, which was naturally wet, was become almost inaccessible to his convoys of provisions. Determined by these considerations, he raised the siege before the middle of November, after fortifying some passes in the neighbourhood of the place, to restrain the excursions of the garrison.

No sooner had he drawn off his troops from Bergen, than having put the Italians and Spaniards into winter-quarters, he sent the Germans under count Peter Ernest de Mansveldt

m Grotius Hist. lib. i. Bentivoglio, and Meteren, anno

to lay fiege to Wachtendonck, in Upper Guel- B O O K derland, a small place, but strongly fortified, and fituated in the midst of a marshy soil. Farnese was, notwithstanding these circumstances, determined to employ his troops in reducing it, by loud complaints which were made to him of the continual depredations of the garrison. This garrison consisted of troops formed by the celebrated Schenck, whose bravery would have baffled the utmost efforts of count Mansveldt, had it not been for a circumstance which intitles the fiege of this little town to a place in hiftory. It was in this fiege that bombs, the late The inventory. invention of an inhabitant in Venlo, where first tion of employed. To fave the town from destruction, the citizens prevailed on the garrison to confent to a furrender, but not till they had fallied out and killed a great number of the enemy; many of whom likewife perished by the inclemency of the feafon, and the humidity of the air and foil.

In consequence of the loss of men sustained Anxiety of at this siege and that of Bergen, the duke of the duke of Parma. Parma found his army exceedingly diminished. This confideration alone must have been a senfible mortification to a general of fo great activity and enterprize, but he was more deeply mortified at the difficulty which he found in supporting the forces that still remained under

B O O K XXI.

his command. They had begun to murmur on account of the arrears which were due to them, and he dreaded the loss of that authority over them which he had hitherto maintained. He had earnestly solicited remittances from the court of Spain, and had represented the fatal confequences which must attend the irregular payment of his troops. But his requests had not for some time past been listened to as formerly, and some of the bills which he drew had been returned unpaid. This was owing partly to the low state of Philip's finances, which, great as his refources were, had been overburdened by the enormous expence in which his late armament had involved him; and partly to the malignity and envy of the Spanish minif-The Duke could not conceal his chagrin, which was augmented by the decline of his health, and the fymptoms of a dropfy, which some years afterwards put a period to his life".

Gertrudenberg betrayed to the Spaniards. In this fituation he received great satisfaction from an event, which was one of the confequences of the intrigues of the earl of Leicester. The garrisons of several towns had, through the influence of that nobleman's partizans, or from the deficiencies in their pay occasioned by his misconduct, shewn great con-

* Meteren, p. 503.

tempt for the authority of the States and prince Maurice; but they had all been brought back to their duty, except the garrison of St. Gertrudenberg, which confifted of one thousand five hundred foot and three hundred horse, partly Dutch and partly English. This garrison having indulged themselves in greater excesses than any other, were conscious of such a degree of guilt as they thought could not eafily be forgiven: they were therefore still as refractory and feditious as ever, maintaining openly, that they were accountable to none but the queen of England; and feizing upon ships, and carrying off plunder from the friends as well as the enemies of the confederacy. The States, apprehenfive of their delivering the town to the enemy, applied every foothing expedient to prevent them. They offered them a full pardon of their offences, got lord Willoughby to interpose his influence, and made immediate payment of a great proportion of their arrears; but all endeavours were ineffectual. In the mean time Lanzavecchia, the governor of Breda, being well informed of their temper and disposition, employed secret agents to confirm them in their feditious purpofes, holding forth to them the rewards which they might hope for from the duke of Parma, while there was nothing to be expected from the queen of England or the States, but either an ignomi-

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nious

B O O K XXI.

nious punishment, or perpetual diffidence and contempt. They hesitated for some time; but when an offer was made to them in the name of the duke of Parma, of full payment of their arrears, besides a sum of money equal to five years pay, they were unable to refift the allurement; they agreed to give up the town on the terms proposed, and began to prepare for the execution of their design, by disarming the inhabitants. Upon receiving intelligence of this infamous transaction, prince Maurice set out by fea, with a body of troops, in order to reduce the garrison by force of arms. But before he had time to make any progress in the fiege, having been informed that the duke of Parma was upon his march to oppose him with a superior army, he thought it prudent to re-The Duke foon afterwards entered the town, and having fulfilled his engagements to the garrison, he bestowed the government upon Lanzavecchia, as a reward for the service he had performed. Gertrudenberg was the first town in Holland which the Spaniards had acquired fince their expulsion from that province about twelve years before; and it gave Farnese, on that account, the most sensible joy and fatisfaction. The States, on the other hand, expressed their indignation against the traitors, by proscribing them; and it ought not to be forgotten, that through various accidents almost all

PHILIP II. KING OF SPAIN.

all of them fell into the hands of the confederates, and had the fentence of profcription executed upon them with the utmost rigour.

FROM Gertrudenberg the Spanish army was fent under count Charles of Mansveldt, to reduce the towns of Heusden and Romersval, and the fort of Louvestein; but all their attempts on these places were baffled by the activity and vigour of prince Maurice and count Hohenloe.

THE duke of Parma returned to Bruffels, and The duke not long afterwards he fet out for Germany, to at Spa. drink the waters at Spa, although it was believed he would not have gone at this feafon, which was the most proper for all military operations, if his army had been in a condition to enter upon any enterprize worthy of his former fame°. During his absence, prince Maurice was barely able to prevent count Mansveldt from making any new acquisition. The forces of these two generals were nearly equal; neither party was inclined to rifk an engagement, and no rencounter passed between them that deserves to be recorded.

May.

Some important fervices were in the mean Atchieve. time performed by the indefatigable Schenck ments of Schenck,

· Grotius, p. 132.

BOOK XXI in the interior provinces. Having some time before the present period, proposed to the States to build a fort upon the Rhine, at the place where that river divides itself into two branches. and forms the ifle of Betuwe, the States approved highly of his proposal, and furnished him with every thing necessary for carrying it into execution. He finished it with great dispatch, and having fixed there his head-quarters, he over-ran all the country round, and feized every favourable opportunity of annoying the enemy. He took the city of Bonne, upon the Rhine, by furprize in the night. Having been informed that a body of troops were upon their march to reinforce Verdugo, the governor of Groningen, and were escorting a sum of money to that place for the payment of the garrison, he chose his ground with so much skill, and attacked them with fuch impetuolity and ardour, that he routed them, and got poffeffion of the money without the loss of a fingle man. But there was nothing on which he was so intent as the recovery of Nimeguen, which some years before he himself had conquered for the Spaniards. Nimeguen stands on the banks of the Waal, at the distance of only a few hours fail from the fort which Schenck had constructed. Having embarked his troops, he fet out

P Called anciently Batavia.

with

with an intention to reach the town about the middle of the night. Through fome accident or mistake he did not arrive till the morning, when he happened unfortunately to land at a house where a number of persons were affembled for the celebration of a wedding. By these perfons the alarm was instantly given to the rest of the inhabitants, who were well acquainted with the enmity with which Schenck had for some time past been animated against them, and knew that an universal pillage would be the confequence of his fuccess. They ran to arms from every quarter, made a furious attack upon his men, and, notwithstanding the most intrepid refistance, drove them towards their boats in great confusion. Schenck endeavoured to rally them, but in vain. The town's people purfued, and flew many of them while they were attempting to escape. Schenck himself was Death of wounded, and immediately afterwards his boat was overfet, and he, and all on board, were drowned. Such was the fate of this brave man at the age of forty, by whom, ever fince his revolt, the Spaniards had been subjected to perpetual apprehensions and alarms 9.

No other material transaction occurred dur- Battle of ing this campaign but the fiege of Rhinberg,

4 Bentivoglio, p. 334.

which

1589.

BOOK which was undertaken at the earnest desire of the elector of Cologn, and the charge of it committed by the duke of Parma to the marquis of Varambon. Colonel Vere, an English officer of high reputation, was fent by the States to the relief of the befieged, and between him and Varambon a bloody battle was fought, in which the English commander gained a complete victory. After this he entered the town, and fortified it so strongly, as enabled the inhabitants for fome time longer to preserve their liberty and independence.

The duke of Parma returns from Spa.

IT was now the end of autumn, and the duke of Parma was returned from Spa. Soon after his return, his apprehensions with regard to the consequences of the irregular payment of his troops, were verified by the mutiny of a Spanish regiment which lay in garrison at Courtray. From complaints the foldiers proceeded to threats, and at last openly refused to obey his commands. With the utmost difficulty he raised money sufficient to appeale them. But as this was the first sedition which had happened fince the commencement of his government, he was the more fenfibly afflicted by it, and dreaded, that the example which it afforded, would foon be followed by the garrifons in other towns.

This event happened about the end of the BOO year one thousand five hundred and eightynine; and in the month of February immedi- The fur ately following, another misfortune happened, which convinced the Duke, that prince Maurice was an antagonist of a character extremely different from that of any other with whom he had hitherto contended. This was the loss of the important city of Breda, of which Maurice got possession by a singular stratagem, suggested to him by the master of a boat, called Adrian Vandenberg, who had fometimes fupplied the town and garrison with turf for firing. When Lanzavecchia, the governor, was at Breda, all vessels which came there were carefully examined; but the duke of Parma, having rewarded this crafty Italian, for the part which he acted in corrupting the garrison of St. Gertrudenberg, with the government of that town, still suffered him to retain that of Breda. Lanzavecchia found it necessary to be often absent from the latter of these places; and, during his absence, usually committed the charge of it to his fon. Vandenberg having observed that on these occasions there was commonly great negligence in fearching his boat, founded upon this circumstance his plan for taking the citadel by furprise. It was communicated to prince Maurice, who readily embraced it, and immediately applied himself to put it in execution. boat

BOOK boat was loaded in appearance with turf, as usual; but the turf was supported by a floor of planks fixed at the distance of several feet from the bottom; and under this floor feventy feled foldiers were placed, under the command of Charles Harauguer', an officer of diffinguished valour and capacity. They had but a few miles to fail; yet, through unexpected accidents, feveral days passed before they could reach Breda. The wind turned against them, the melting ice retarded their course, and the boat having struck upon a bank, was so much damaged, that the foldiers were for some time up to the knees in water. Their provisions were almost fpent, and one of their number was feized with a violent cough, which, if it continued, they forefaw would certainly occasion a discovery. This man had the generofity to offer them his fword, and to intreat them to kill him. They as generously declined it; and being resolved to run all rifks, rather than embrue their hands in the blood of their companion, they still perlisted in their defign. Happily their virtue was rewarded: the foldier's cough left him, and even the leak in their veffel was stopt by some accidental cause.

> In order to secure the absence of Lanzavecchia, whose vigilance there was much ground

> > A native of Cambray.

marching against Gertrudenberg, and this artifice produced the desired effect. Lanzavecchia
was absent from Breda when the boat arrived.
It was admitted within the fortifications of the
castle, and the search was made in the most superficial manner.

Norwithstanding this, there was still the utmost danger of a discovery, and it would certainly have been made, had not Vandenberg possessed an extraordinary share of address and art, which he exerted on this occasion. There being a scarcity of fuel in the castle, the turf was immediately purchased; the foldiers of the garrison were set to work in carrying it ashore. and fo great a number of hands were employed, that they would foon have uncovered the planks. and thereby have detected the plot, had not Vandenberg, pretending to be fatigued with labour and watching, and unable to affift the foldiers any longer in unloading, first amused them with discourse, and then invited them to join him in drinking some wine which he had provided. His offer was readily accepted. The night came on, and the Spanish foldiers were all either asleep or drunk. Vandenberg then fet out, in order to give notice of his success to prince Maurice and count Hohenloe, who, according to agreement, had in great filence brought

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B O O K brought forward a body of forces within a little distance of the town.

> ABOUT the middle of the night, Harauguer iffued forth from his retreat; and having divided his band into two bodies, he attacked. at the same time, both the guards which were placed at the gate towards the country, and those which were stationed at another gate which led from the citadel to the town, and meeting with little resistance, he secured possession of the gates. Young Lanzavecchia rushed out against him with between thirty and forty of the garrifon; but these men were not able to withstand the determined and desperate valour of the affailants. They were all either put to the fword or dispersed, and Lanzavecchia himself was wounded and taken prisoner.

> THE alarm was foon communicated to the town, in which there was a numerous garrifon, confifting of five companies of Italian foot, and one of horse. The citizens offered to co-operate with the garrison in defending the fortifications, till the duke of Parma should come to their relief; but this cowardly garrison, being struck with an univerfal panic, and having no commander in chief to direct their operations, suddenly forfook the town. In the mean time prince Maurice arrived in the citadel, and the inha

inhabitants having now no garrison to support by them, sent a trumpet with an offer to surrender, on condition that they should not be plundered. And to this prince Maurice readily agreed; but required that they should pay him ninety thousand florins to be distributed among his troops.

MAURICE received the greater satisfaction from this acquisition, which had been attended with the loss of only one man, as Breda had been for many years the hereditary property of his family; and for the same reason the citizens were less reluctant in submitting to his authority. He appointed the brave Harauguer to be governor of the town, and liberally rewarded Vandenberg, and all the other sailors and soldiers, in proportion to their merit.

The duke of Parma, on the other hand, was extremely mortified with what had happened, and highly incensed against his countrymen, the Italians, who had so basely deserted the town committed to their care. He ordered the officers to be arrested, and afterwards commanded all of them to be executed, agreeably to the sentence of a court-martial, except one, whom he pardoned in consideration of his youth.

Grotius. Bentivoglio:

Vol. III.

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B O O K XXI.

OLD Lanzavecchia's imprudence in committing fo important a charge to fo young a man as his fon, was already feverely punished by his fon's imprisonment, and the loss of his government of Breda. He punished himself still farther, by religning his government of Gertrudenberg. Such were the bitter fruits of that corruption for which this man had been so lately rewarded. According to the principles which warriors and politicians are ready to adopt, his conduct deferved the reward which was bestowed upon it; but to the friends of virtue it will give fatisfaction to observe, that, in the course of providence, punishment is inflicted sometimes not upon the treacherous alone, but on those too by whom they are prompted, or encouraged in their treachery.

MEANWHILE Farnese resolving to recover the town, if possible, before prince Maurice should have time to secure it, sent count Mansveldt against it with a part of the army. But Maurice had no sooner acquired possession of the place, than he surnished it with provisions sufficient for many months, and stationed a garrison in it consisting of one thousand two hundred foot and sour hundred horse. Mansveldt did not therefore think it expedient to lay immediate siege to Breda; but in order to cut off the communication of the garrison with Holland,

land, he attempted to reduce a strong fort in the mouth of the river Mark, which commanded the navigation of that river. From this attempt however he was obliged to desist, after having lost between six and seven hundred men. He then built another fort at the mouth of the river, and began to make preparations for besieging the town itself. In order to divert him from the prosecution of his design, prince Maurice marched with a body of about five thousand men towards Nimeguen, resolving to besiege that town in case Mansveldt did not relinquish his present enterprise.

elections biom appropriate

FARNESE, sensible of the great importance of Nimeguen, fent orders to count Mansveldt to lead his army thither without delay. Maurice perceived then that it was impracticable for him to attempt the fiege with any probability of fuccess, and encamped his troops in the Betuwe, on the north fide of the Waal, opposite to Nimeguen. Having fortified the banks of the river, to prevent count Mansveldt from transporting his forces, he built, in fight of the enemy, a strong fort, afterwards called by the name of Knotzenburg, directly opposite to the town; by which he not only deprived Nimeguen of all the advantages which it had hitherto derived from its situation; but, as the cannon of this fort could reach the town, the inhabitants M 2

B O O K XXI.

inhabitants were exposed to continual danger. After having finished this important work, he dug a navigable canal across the Betuwe, from the Rhine to the Waal. This wife expedient rendered the navigation of the confederates in those parts secure, by making it unnecessary for their ships to pass by Nimeguen; and it was of great advantage to all the country round, by lessening the violence of the inundations to which that part of the Netherlands is sometimes liable. The States of Guelderland and Overyfiel had a just sense of the benefits which they derived from his operations, and they testified their gratitude by electing him governor of these two provinces. Meneticent font onlets to coon

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OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND, KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK XXII.

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ROM the capacity and vigour which BOOK Maurice had already displayed, Philip XXII. might have perceived that he should probably Affairs of find full employment in the Netherlands for all France. the forces which, in the present state of his finances, he was able to support. And confidering the unfortunate iffue of his enterprize against Elizabeth, and how much the reputation of his arms and counsels had fuffered from his long unfuccessful flruggle with the inhabitants of the United Provinces, it might have been expected that he would have feen the ab-M 3 furdity

1590.

BOOK furdity of that prepofterous ambition which had led him to undertake new conquests before he had reduced his own dominions under obe-It does not appear that he ever feridience. oufly entertained the thoughts of renewing his attempt against England; but having never relinquished his defigns on France, he had maintained his connections with the heads of the Catholic league; and notwithstanding the difficulty which he found in paying his army in Flanders, he had from time to time supplied them with confiderable fums of money.

The Catholic league.

THESE factious leaders had now more occafion than ever for his affiftance. After the treaty mentioned above, which Philip concluded with the duke of Guise at Joinville in the year one thousand five hundred and eightyfive, the flames of war between the Catholics and Protestants had been kindled afresh from one end of the kingdom to the other. Henry, well acquainted with the fecret intentions of Guise and his partizans, which were no less hostile to himself than to the Calvinists, would gladly have employed all his power for their destruction; but he soon perceived that he was unable to contend openly with fo great a force as they had provided against him, and therefore disguising his resentment for the affront offered to his authority, he refolved to accede

to the league, in hopes of acquiring the direc. BOOK tion of it, by declaring himself its head and protector. In consequence of this resolution, great preparations were made for profecuting the war against the Calvinists, and three different armies were raised. One of these Henry commanded in person; another was sent under the duke de Joyeuse against the king of Navarre; and the third was led by the duke of Guise, to oppose a numerous army of Germans, who were upon their march to the affiftance of the Hugonots. Joyeuse lost both his army and his life in the battle of Coutras; but the duke of Guise, who made up for the small number of his troops, by his fuperior conduct and intrepidity, proved victorious over the Germans, and thereby acquired an increase of popularity and fame, which gave him uncontrollable influence over almost all the Catholics in the Elated with his fuccess, and conkingdom. scious of his power, this ambitious leader could no longer delay the execution of his defigns; but resolved, after deposing the King, and confining him to a cloifter, to place the infirm and aged cardinal of Bourbon upon the throne; hoping to engross the whole administration, and to fecure the fuccession to himself, in the event of the cardinal's demise. Henry beheld with much dread the precipice on which he stood; and in order to avoid it, had recourse to that M 4 detestable

BOOK XXII. detestable expedient, of which, in his youth, he had shewn his approbation, in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, by commanding both the duke of Guise, and his brother the cardinal, to be assassing to be assa

This murder, which even Henry pretended to justify only by the plea of necessity, did not produce the effect which he expected. Instead of intimidating his enemies, it ferved to inflame their minds with wrath and indignation. In Paris, where the spirit of the league had long raged with the utmost fury, the people broke his statues to pieces, the ecclesiastics declaimed against him in the bitterest and most abusive terms, and the Sorbonne declared him to have forfeited the crown. His fubiects almost every where rose up in arms against him, and the duke of Mayenne, brother of the Guises, a prince of extraordinary prudence and capacity, was chosen commander in chief in his brother's room.

In this fituation Henry had no resource lest but in the king of Navarre, whom he had deceived and persecuted. But this generous and heroic prince readily forgot the injuries he had received from him, and made haste to march with a numerous army to his assistance. Thus powerfully supported, Henry became an overmatch

PHILIP IL KING OF SPAIN.

match for his enemies, and he would foon have BOO compelled the city of Paris to furrender, when a period was put to his life by a fanatic monk, who being seduced by his superiors, burned with the defire of meriting Heaven, by embruing his hands in the blood of his lawful Such was the unfortunate end of Henry III. the last of the race of Valois, which had reigned over France for almost three hundred years.



of the crown, and whom the deceased monarch had nominated his fuccesfor, was immediately proclaimed King in the camp, by the name of Henry IV. a name which will be for ever refpected, not by the French nation alone, but by every friend of mankind and of virtue. Brought up in the hardest school of adversity, patient, frugal, and laborious; brave and wife; fincere, humane, and generous; of the fricteft. integrity, and the most untainted honour; he had long commanded the admiration of his enemies, as well as of the impartial world. Never did any prince succeed to a throne, adorned with more splendid, more substantial, or more amiable accomplishments; yet to fierce

was the spirit of religious bigotry with which his fubjects were inflamed; so great their abhorrence of Calvinism; and such their dread,

THE king of Navarre, the undoubted heir Accession of

that

1590.

B. O O K that Henry, who was himself a Calvinist, although the most moderate of his sect, would, in imitation of the queen of England, overturn the Popish religion, that many of the Catholics instantly forfook his camp; nor would any of them have been perfuaded to remain with him, had he not given them ground to entertain hopes of his conversion.

> In Paris he had a numerous party who would willingly have recognifed his right, in case he would have agreed to embrace the Popish faith. There were others who, under the pretence of religion, had no other ends in view but to secure and perpetuate that unbounded licence which they had long enjoyed, of perpetrating the most atrocious crimes; and there were many who, having been gained over by Spanish influence, had, in concert with Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, and Cajetan, the Pope's legate, a partizan of Spain, formed the defign of conferring the crown, either on Philip himself, or his daughter Isabella .

THE duke of Mayenne, who had adopted his brother's plan in all its branches, hoped to make these parties subservient to his own elevation to the throne. This design, however,

[·] Grand-daughter of Henry II.

he concealed with care; and that he might have leifure to prepare the means of putting it in execution, he prevailed on a great majority to concur in electing the cardinal of Bourbon king; to which measure likewise, Philip, actuated by a similar intention, gave his consent.

BOOK XXII.

HENRY in the mean time finding himself unable, from the great defertion of his forces, to maintain his present situation before Paris, retired into Normandy, to wait there, till fuccours, which he expected from Elizabeth, should arrive. Mayenne, putting himself at the head of an army much more numerous than that of the King, purfued and attacked him in his fortifications near the town of Arques; but having been repulfed with great flaughter, and having fuffered afterwards a total overthrow in the battle of Ivry, in which, as on many other occasions, Henry's superior bravery supplied his want of numbers, Mayenne was obliged, with the shattered remains of his army, to take refuge in the metropolis. There he stayed no longer than till he had confulted with the duke of Nemours, the governor, with regard to the proper measures of defence, in case the city should be besieged by the victorious army; after which he set out for Picardy, to meet the duke of Parma, from whom he expected a reinforcement of troops. The King arrived foon after

B O O K XXII. 1590/ Siege of Paris. after in the neighbourhood of Paris, and having made himfelf mafter of the course of the Seyne and the Marne, and blocked up every entry by which provisions might be conveyed into the town, he invested it on every side, and soon reduced the inhabitants to extreme necessity,

By the persuasion however of their leaders, seconded by the Spanish minister and the Pope's legate; by the decrees of the Sorbonne, and the harangues of the clergy; they were confirmed in the resolution which they had formed from the beginning, to endure every calamity, rather than receive an heretical king, whose authority they were taught to believe they could not acknowledge, without endangering their salvation.

Philip's views on France.

In their present distressful situation they had no prospect of relief, but from the arms of Spain; nor was Philip less inclined now to interpose in their behalf, and that of the league in general, than formerly. The affairs of France were at this time the principal object of his attention; and he would gladly have exerted himself against the King with his utmost vigour, especially as the cardinal of Bourbon was lately dead, if the present juncture had been favourable to his ambitious design, of seizing the

O O K XXII.

the monarchy for himself or his daughter; by which, more than by zeal for the Catholic faith, he had long been actuated. But having penetrated into the views of Mayenne, and found that from him and all his party he had reason to expect the most strenuous opposition; he confidered, that if Henry were utterly subdued, the Catholics, flanding then no longer in need of his affiftance, would probably unite against him, and without regard to the obligations which he had laid them under, render all his expence and labour fruitless. He resolved therefore, agreeably to the advice of the duke of Parma, to protract the war, and to afford the league only fuch affiftance as might prevent the King from acquiring an entire ascendant over them; hoping thereby to waste the strength of both the contending parties, and fooner or later to oblige them to comply with whatever terms he should be pleased to prefcribe salubai vibnol inci

Conformanty to this plan, the duke of Parma, with whom Mayenne had an interview at Condé, gave him only two thousand seven hundred foot and eight hundred horse. But as this reinforcement was inadequate to the purpose for which it had been solicited, Philip became apprehensive that the resolution of the besieged might fail; and dreaded, that if Henry

B O O K XXII.

were once mafter of the capital, a prince of to great ability and address might soon compel the rest of the kingdom to submit to his authority. To prevent this, he refolved to postpone every confideration of prudence and interest to the raising of the siege; and fent positive orders to the duke of Parma, to conduct his army to France for this purpose, with the utmost expedition. Farnese, though possessed of capacity and courage equal to the most difficult and dangerous enterprise, would gladly have diverted Philip from his defign. He reprefented to him the dangerous confequences with which the absence of his troops from the Netherlands would be attended; and he attempted to make him fenfible of the extreme uncertainty of those advantages which he expected to derive from taking so deep an interest in the affairs of France. But Philip, blinded by his ambition, could not relinquish those delusive hopes which he had long fondly indulged, of adding France to his dominions. He was deaf to the duke's prudent remonstrances, and only listened to his advice, so far as to consent that he might return to the Low-Countries, when the fiege of Paris should be raised.

The duke of Parma's first expedition into France. FINDING the King thus obstinate and inflexible, Farnese committed the government, during his absence, to count Peter Ernest of Mansyeldt,

Mansveldt, and appointed his fon count Charles to command the small number of troops, which he defigned to leave behind him for the defence of the Netherlands. He then applied himself with great anxiety to make the necesfary preparations for his march: for he was well aware of the difficulty which he must encounter in his intended enterprise against a prince of fo great abilities as the king of France, in the midst of his dominions, and at the head of a victorious army, commanded by a gallant and almost invincible nobility. This consideration, however, far from intimidating him, ferved only to make him exert, with more than ordinary vigour, those illustrious talents with which he was endowed; left now, when he was about to enter the lifts with fo great a rival for military fame, he should forfeit that high renown which his former atchievements had procured him thall them of the ment illustration commission following the modern

HENRY was at this time about forty years comparison of age, and Farnese a sew years older. From of him with Henry. their earliest youth they had been alike distinguished by the love of arms; and had passed their lives either in learning, or in practifing the art of war. They possessed alike the talent of conciliating the affections of their troops, without any relaxation of discipline, or dimiaution of authority. They were equal too in perfonal

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personal courage, in quick discernment, and in fertility of genius. But the King was more prompt in his decisions; the duke more cautious and circumspect. The latter, always cool, and mafter of himfelf, transgressed on no occasion the bounds of the strictest prudence; but the former was often betrayed by his natural impetuofity and ardor, rather to act the part of a common foldier, than of a general, and unnecessarily to expose his person to danger. From the same impetuosity of temper, the King was ever fond of striking a decisive blow. by a pitched battle in the field; whereas the duke chose rather to accomplish his defiens by stratagem and dexterity, without blood-Notwithstanding this diversity in their characters, they were indifputably the greatest captains of the age in which they lived, and may be compared, without suffering by the comparison, with the most illustrious commanders either in antient or in modern times.

His wife precautions. FARNESE was ready to fet out from Bruffels in the beginning of August, with an army of fourteen thousand foot and three thousand horse. On his arrival in France, having convened his principal officers together, he explained to them the conduct proper to be observed in the present expedition; and represented

fented the necessity of requiring a strict atten- BOOK tion from every individual in the army, to all the rules of military discipline. They were about to enter into a kingdom, where the people being naturally jealous of the Spaniards, fuspicions would be easily excited, that, instead of having come to their affiftance, he intended to reduce them under the government of Spain. Against giving ground for these suspicions, which might defeat the intentions of the King. they must be continually on their guard, and take effectual care to restrain the troops from offering any violence to the natives. They were ere long to pursue their march in the face of a bold and enterprising enemy; and for this reason it would be necessary that the most perfect order should be observed, that no tumult should be permitted in their quarters, and no foldier allowed to leave his colours night or day, upon any pretence whatever; that the country should be reconnoitred with the utmost care: that they should take up their quarters every evening a confiderable time before funfet; that the troops should stand under their arms, till the intrenchments were completed: and that their intrenchments should be as strongly fortified, as if the enemy were in fight.

THE duke secured the execution of these orders, by the activity and vigilance which he exerted VOL. III.

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B O O K XXII. exerted. Although he had many officers of high reputation under him, yet he resolved not to put implicit trust in any of them. From charts or maps, joined to the information which he received from the natives, he had acquired a thorough knowledge of the country through which he was to pass. He heard in person the reports of all the parties which he sent to reconnoitre; marked out the encampments with his own hand, and bestowed such particular attention on every thing which he deemed of the least importance, that he lest himself no other time for repose, but the sew hours between beating the reveille, and the marching of the troops.

In order to preserve his men fresh and vigorous for the time of action, he marched gently forwards; and did not arrive at Meaux, which is ten leagues distant from Paris, till the 23d of August. He was joined at Meaux by the duke de Mayenne, with ten thousand foot and one thousand five hundred horse; and from this place he sent intelligence to the besieged, that he hoped to be able in a sew days to relieve them.

Distress of the PariTHEIR patience was almost exhausted. They had been for many days reduced to the most deplorable condition. Great numbers had died

of

PHILIP II. KING OF SPAIN.

of want, or of diseases occasioned by the un- BOOK wholesome food to which they had been obliged to have recourse; and though their bigotry made them still entertain the thoughts of a furrender with horror, it had required the utmost vigilance on the part of the governor, to prevent it from taking place. They believed it to be impossible for them to hold out even for a few days, at the end of which the duke of Parma had given them hopes of his arrival. Of this desperate situation, their leaders did not fail to inform him, nor did he delay advancing towards them one moment longer than was necessary in order to secure a fortunate issue to his enterprize. A second with beautiful flow gow

HENRY had for several weeks entertained Henry raises the most fanguine hopes of being able to terminate the fiege before the duke could arrive . He was now extremely chagrined and mortified, and was at the fame time thrown into great perplexity, with respect to the measures proper to be purfued. Unwilling to quit his prize, when he was upon the point of feizing it, he would gladly have divided his army, and leaving a part of it, to continue the blockade, have led the rest to meet the enemy. But as it had lately suffered great diminution by sick-

It had lasted four months.

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ness,

B O O K XXII. ness, he apprehended that he would find sufficient employment for the whole, in defending himself against the Spaniards. After much hesitation, he raised the siege, and set out to oppose the duke of Parma, before he should approach nearer the town.

HAVING advanced as far as Chelles (which lies about four leagues diftant from Paris) he pitched his camp in a spacious plain, which is terminated by two hills of a gentle ascent, feparated from each other by the road that leads to Meaux. The duke of Parma's army was encamped on the other fide of these hills, and was well fecured by ftrong entrenchments. In this fituation the two armies remained for feveral days. The duke did not now lie under the same necessity as before, of precipitating his approach to Paris, because the citizens having ventured, after the King's departure, to make excursions into the country, had furnished themselves with some provisions from the places adjacent; and the King durst not attack fuch strong intrenchments, defended by an army fuperior in number to his own. But being eager to engage, and dreading the daily diminution of his forces from the fickness

which

e His army amounted to twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse.

which prevailed among them, Henry fent a BOOK defiance to the duke of Mayenne, calling upon him to quit his den, in which he lay more like a fox than a lion, that the contest between them might be decided, and an end put to the calamities of the kingdom.

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MAYENNE fent, the herald who brought this of the duke challenge to the duke of Parma, who answered, fmiling, That his present conduct, he perceived, was not agreeable to the King; but that he had been accustomed to fight, only when he himself thought proper, and not when it was convenient for his enemies; and he added. That far from declining battle, he would offer it as foon as the interest of the cause which he had come to support, should render it expedient. Agreeably to the spirit of this reply, Farnese kept his army within their lines for two days longer; during which time he was employed in examining the fituation of the country, and in confidering how he might accomplish the end of his expedition, without hazarding an engagement. Having at length fixed his plan of operations, without communicating it to the duke of Mayenne, or any other of his officers, he gave out, that he now intended to offer battle. Of the van, which confifted of two fquadrons of lances, with all the light horse in his army, he gave the command to the mar-

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BOOK quis de Renti, with instructions, that as soon as he should reach the top of the interjacent hill, he should spread out his troops, and make as large a front as possible; and then begin to descend slowly towards the enemy, but not to engage without further orders, whatever provocation he should receive. He committed the charge of the main army to the duke de Mayenne, and that of the rear to the fieur de la Mothe; while he reserved liberty to himfelf, to ride from one part of the army to the other, as occasion should require.

> WHEN the King was informed of this dispofition and movement of the Spanish army, he could not doubt that the duke had at length resolved to try the fortune of a battle. His eyes sparkled with joy. He drew up his army in battle array, with the utmost celerity and skill; but resolved to wait till the enemy should descend to the plain, where he might enter the lifts with them on equal terms.

> WHEN the van of the Spanish army had formed fo large a front, as totally obstructed the view of every thing behind them, the duke commanded De Renti to stop, and to wait for the King, in case he should think fit to ascend the hill. Then clapping spurs to his horse, he galloped back to the duke de Mayenne, who

was

was advancing with the main army, and taking BOOK him by the hand, he faid, with a cheerful animated countenance, " Paris will foon be delivered now, my lord; but for this purpose we must turn back, and direct our march to another quarter." He then defired both Mayenne and La Mothe to march towards Lagny, a town on the other side of the Marne, and instructed them to take possession of the ground on this side, directly opposite to the town, and to employ all their troops in drawing strong lines of circumvallation round their camp.

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THESE orders were executed with great expedition. A battery of the largest cannon was planted over against the town; and the camp was fortified in fuch a manner with trenches, breast-works, and redoubts, as to render it impregnable.

WHEN this was done, the marquis de Renti, who for feveral hours had amused the enemy. with hopes that he intended to come down from the hill, began to file off towards Lagny; after having planted a body of felect troops, under an officer of the name of Basta, in certain woody. parts of the hill, to fecure his retreat.

THE King in the mean time knew nothing of what had passed on the other side of the hill; and

B O O K XXII.

and when he saw the marquis de Renti depart, he fent a detachment after him to attack his rear, and if possible to discover the duke's defign. But this detachment fell unexpectedly among the Spanish troops under Basta; and a furious rencounter enfued, which continued with various fuccess till night, when both parties retired to their respective camps. The King remained all night entirely ignorant of the operations of the enemy. He could not suppose that Farnese, a general so distinguished for his caution, would attempt to transport his forces over the Marne, in order to advance to Paris, on the other fide of that river, while fo strong a fortified pass as Lagny lay behind him. And it was still more difficult to believe, that in the face of fuch an army as lay ready to attack him, he would undertake the fiege of Lagny, especially as the river lay between him and that place. It was the last of these meafures, however, on which the duke of Parma had refolved; and all his movements on the day before had been made in order to infure fuccefs. Next morning the King received intelligence of his defign, but he had the mortification to perceive that it was beyond his power to prevent him from carrying it into execution. On each hand he was perplexed with infurmountable difficulties. The fortifications of the Spanish army were already so complete, that

that he could not attack them with the smallest hopes of fuccess. If he should remain where he was, Lagny would certainly be loft, and thereby a passage to Paris opened on the other side of the river; and if he should transport his army, in order to fave Lagny, the duke would then be at liberty to march directly by the road on this fide to the relief of the besieged.

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THERE was no other expedient in his power, but, while he remained in his present situation, to fend reinforcements from time to time to the garrison of Lagny.

THE duke of Parma meanwhile pushed for- He takes ward the fiege of that place with the utmost Lagny. celerity and vigour; having, as already mentioned, planted a battery on this fide of the river, he opened it next morning, and foon laid a great part of the wall in ruins. The garrison, however, still believed themselves to be secure, as the river was between them and the enemy; but the duke had thrown a bridge of boats over it some miles above the town, and had already transported several thousands of his bravest troops. These troops were ready to mount the breach as foon as it was made practicable. In the first assault they were repulsed with great bravery by the garrison, but an error in military discipline, committed by La-fin, the governor,

B O O K XXII. vernor, quickly decided the fate of Lagny. Inflead of relieving those who had sustained the
first assault, by changing them file by file, according to an established rule in the desence
of places, he attempted to do it all at once,
and thereby threw his men into consustant.
This blunder was perceived by the assaults,
who returned instantly to the charge with redoubled sury, and after taking La-sin himself
prisoner, put most of the garrison to the sword,
while the King stood a forrowful spectator of
the loss of the place, and the slaughter of his
troops.

Relief of Paris. AFTER the taking of Lagny, no other obflacle remained to prevent the Spaniards from approaching Paris on that fide of the river, but the garrifons at the bridges of St. Maur and Charenton. These were easily overcome, and the convoys with provisions advanced without molestation to the gates of the city. The joy of the Parisians on this occasion may be more easily imagined than described; they poured forth in multitudes to receive that food of which they stood so much in need, and every tongue celebrated in the highest strains the praises of their deliverer.

Error of the French monarch. No person admired more that dexterity by which the duke of Parma had accomplished his design,

defign, than the King himself; but his gene- BOOK rous spirit was severely mortified, and he had the greater reason for the chagrin which he selt on this occasion; because, if, instead of encamping his army at Chelles, he had followed the council of the wife La Noue, and advanced as far as Claye, Lagny might have been faved, and the Spanish army so long retarded, that the Parifians must have thrown themselves upon his mercy.

HENRY's uneafiness was greatly augmented when he confidered, that at present it was impossible for him by any bold decisive stroke to retrieve his error. He knew it to be vain to entertain the hopes of forcing the duke of Parma, now when the end of his expedition was accomplished, to expose his troops to the risk of a battle. His own army was greatly weakened by fickness, and the fatigues of a long campaign. All the country round being laid waste, he began to feel a scarcity of provisions; his exchequer was exhaufted, and many of his nobility and gentry, who ferved at their own expence, having no farther expectations this feafon of either fubduing Paris, or compelling the enemy to engage, were impatient to depart. Determined by these motives, he retired to St. He disbands Dennis, and having disbanded the greatest part his army. of his forces, he fent the nobility to provide

B O O K XXII. for the security of the several provinces in which their interest lay, retaining only a slying army of his best troops, with which he intended during the winter to check the progress of the enemy.

Siege of Corbeil This little army was not so formidable as to prevent the duke of Parma from undertaking whatever enterprize he should incline. At the desire of Mayenne, and the other heads of the league, he laid siege to Corbeil; and notwithstanding the most obstinate resistance, he took it by assault, but not till he had spent many days in the siege, and lost a great number of men.

Being desirous to preserve in his own hands an acquisition which had cost him so dear, he proposed to the leaders of the league to put in Corbeil a garrison of his Walloon or Italian sorces. By this proposal perhaps, he meant only to make trial of their disposition towards the Catholic king; or, considering how averse he himself had ever been to his present expedition, he intended to make Philip sensible of the difficulty of deriving any substantial advantage from taking so deep an interest in the affairs of France.

Whatever was his motive, Mayenne and the other leaders declined consenting to his proposal, and in their resulal gave him a clear discovery

discovery of their jealoufy and suspicion. This BOOK discovery confirmed him in his opinion, that matters were far from being ripe for the execution of Philip's designs, and that probably he should never be able to accomplish them by any other means than by protracting the war, till the strength and patience of the contending parties were exhaufted. This plan had, as mentioned above, been recommended to Philip by the duke himself; and conformably to it, he refolved, fince neither party was in immediate danger of being overpowered, to return to the Netherlands. Other motives concurred in determining him to form this refolution; the inclemency of the season, the sickliness of his army, the want of money, and a fcarcity of provisions; which last was so great, as made it necessary for him sometimes to suffer his troops to plunder the inhabitants, although he forefaw that his granting this permission must not only prove prejudicial to his discipline, but contribute likewise to alienate the affections of the people, and thereby to obstruct his master's views.

THE catholic leaders, who had expected that he would have remained in France till the King was totally subdued, laboured with much importunity to divert him from his purpose; but all their arguments were ineffectual. The

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BOOK state of affairs in the Netherlands, he informed them, rendered his return indiffenfably necesfary, but he would fend them money, and leave fuch a number of troops as would enable them to profecute the war. Neither the money of nor troopse which he promised were answerable to the fanguine expectations which they had formed. They faw that Philip, notwithstanding the feeming zeal with which he espoused their cause, was furely actuated by some private motive of ambition; that there was nothing farther from his intention than to bring the war to a conclusion, and that he would never contribute effectually to their gaining a victory over their enemies, unless he himself were to reap the fruits of it. They found it necessary however to conceal their fuspicions, and to accept of the scanty supply of money and troops which the duke had offered. Farnese in the mean time was preparing for his march; and, as he could not doubt that Henry would give him all the annoyance in his power, he employed the fame precautions as he had done formerly when he left the Netherlands. Having drawn up his army in four divisions, he marched always in the order of battle: the country through which he passed was diligently

d Thirty thousand ducats.

e Between five and fix thousand.

reconnoitred by the light horse, and his camp BOOK was every evening fecured by ftrong intrenchprevious next of them delicated.

tide data to deficient and some occ NOTWITHSTANDING these precautions, the The duke King was determined not to fuffer him to re- the Nethers turn unmolested. With this intention he had brought a felect body of troops to Compeigne, near the borders of Picardy, and he fet out with them from that place, as foon as he got information of the enemy's route, inflamed with the defire of taking vengeance for the injuries he had received. Henry had full fcope in the present scene of action for his wonted brayery and vigilance, nor did he fuffer any opportunity to escape of exerting these qualities with fignal damage to the enemy. Hovering perpetually round them, he attacked them fometimes in the front, when they least expected it, fometimes in the flank, and fometimes in the rear, giving them no respite night or day, and filling their minds with continual apprehenfions and alarms.

No general could have made greater efforts with so small a force; and if the Spaniards had been commanded by a general less distinguished than the duke of Parma for prudence and circumfpection, it is impossible, considering the length of their march, the badness of their roads.

HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF

B O O K XXII. roads, and the season of the year, but they must have been often thrown into consusion, and the greater part of them destroyed. But the duke's vigilance was not inserior to the activity of the King; while he was perpetually on his guard, and ever ready to assist whatever part of his army was attacked, he suffered no provocation to divert him from the prosecution of his march; and at last he brought his troops, though not without considerable loss, yet in good order, into the province of Hainaults.

f D'Avila, lib. xi. Bentivoglio, part ii. lib.v. Thuanus, lib. xcix. sect. vi. and vii.

PART

the revoled progress, bring badly for with gerraince to deloke thems with expo early interest as the country. I he consedu

PARTI

HE duke of Parma, on his return to the BOOK Netherlands, found that all the unhappy confequences which he foretold had arisen from his absence. Having drained his finances by the French expedition, many of the troops left in the Low Countries had mutinied on account of their want of pay. The forces of the confederated states had over-run the fertile provinces of Brabant and Flanders; and prince Maurice, having made himself master of a great number of the fmaller towns upon the frontier, had paved the way for future conquelts:

These misfortunes gave the duke of Parma the greater uneafiness, as he had little prospect of being able foon either to retrieve his loffes or to make reprifals on the enemy. Finding by his instructions from the court of Spain, that Philip was as much intoxicated as ever with his ambitious views in France, he was obliged to station the greatest part of his troops in the provinces of Artois and Hainault, where they might be ready to march, if necessary, to the affiftance of the league. And thus feveral of the most important towns which lay next to VOL. III. .

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B O O K XXII. the revolted provinces, being badly furnished with garrisons to defend them, were exposed an easy prey to the enemy. The consederates were too sagacious not to discern the advantage which was thus presented to them: and whereas they had, till lately, been satisfied with defending their frontier, which they had done with much anxiety, and often without success; they now took courage from the distractions in which Philip's preposterous ambition had involved him, and resolved to exert themselves with vigour in carrying on an offensive war.

Prince Maurice fubdues

THE year one thousand five hundred and ninety-one had just begun, when colonel Norris led out the garrison of Ostend, which had been reinforced by troops from England; and having taken the fort of Blackemberg, between Oftend and Shuys, he laid a great part of Flanders open to his incursions. Soon afterwards another party of the forces of the States furprised the forts of Turnhout and Westerlo, in Brabant. But these conquests were inconsiderable, when compared with those of prince Maurice, who, having put his troops in motion as early as the feafon would permit, opened the campaign with the fiege of Zutphen, and foon compelled the garrison to furrender.

Zutphen,

FROM

From this place he led his army against BOOK Deventer, a town of still greater importance than Zutphen. Deventer had been, as above and Deven related, betrayed to the Spaniards by Sir Wil- ter. liam Stanley; and Maurice was earneftly folicited to undertake the fiege of it, at this time, by colonel Vere, who was fired with the generous ambition of wiping out the reproach which Stanley's treachery had brought upon his countrymen. Vere displayed in this fiege all that bravery and conduct, for which he is fo highly celebrated by the cotemporary hiftorians; and next to Maurice, who conducted the attack with confummate prudence, he principally contributed to the reduction of the place. It was vigorously defended by the count de Berg, cousin-german to the prince; but the count being grievously wounded, and the wall on that fide where Vere commanded laid in ruins, the garrison capitulated in a few days 10th Junes after opening the trenches, and the inhabitants returned under obedience to the States 8.

THE duke of Parma in the mean time laid fiege to the fort of Knotzenberg, which Maurice had built in the end of the preceding year. By this fort, the confederates commanded the navigation of the river, and gave such an-

novance

Vide Bentivoglio, p. 350. Grotius, p. 145. Meteren, P. 530.

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noyance to Nimeguen, as made the duke extremely uneasy about the sate of that important city. In order to conceal his design, he directed his march sirst towards the fort of Schenck. But Maurice was not deceived by this seint, and had taken care to strengthen the garrison of Knotzenberg with an addition of some chosen troops.

He defeats the Spanish horse.

THE duke therefore met with the most vigorous reliftance, and loft a great number of his men; still, however, he persisted in the Maurice, dreading his fuccess, relinquished a scheme which he had formed for the reduction of Groningen, and having passed the Waal, he pitched his camp within fight of the enemy. As he did not possess sufficient force to attack their lines, he intended only to encourage the garrison by his presence, or to straiten the duke's quarters, and to intercept his convoys. Many skirmishes passed with various fuccess, till Maurice at length found an opportunity of putting in practice the following stratagem: having planted an ambush of his bravest troops, he marched up to the enemy's camp, attended by count Solmes and colonel Vere, at the head of some companies of horse. The duke, less circumspect and cautious on this occasion than usual, fent out ten companies of Spanish and Italian horse to attack him. A fierce

PHILIP II. KING OF SPAIN.

fierce rencounter enfued. Agreeably to orders, the prince's troops foon turned their backs and The royalists purfued with ardour, till they had passed a narrow defile and a bridge, when Maurice returned fuddenly to the charge, and the foldiers in ambush pouring in upon them from both fides, their return to the camp was intercepted, and almost all of them were put to the fword or taken prisoners.

This difaster afflicted the duke of Parma in the most sensible manner; a great number of the officers who fell were his countrymen, many of whom were perfons of rank, in whose fortune he was particularly interested. He perceived that, if he remained in his present situation, he must find it extremely difficult, from the diminution of his cavalry, to fupply his army with provisions, and he had not as yet made any confiderable progress in the fiege.

He would still however have profecuted his enterprise, if he had not been obliged to defift from it by orders which he received from Philip, to act only on the defensive in the Netherlands, and to spare his troops as much as posfible for another expedition into France. Maurice hoped to have gained some advantage over Farnese in his retreat from Knotzenberg; but both in this, and in his passage over the Waal, 0 3

fuch

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fuch wife precautions were employed, as rendered it impossible for the prince to annoy him; while they filled that young hero with the highest admiration of the duke of Parma's skill, and furnished him with important lessons in the military art, which he put in practice on many occasions afterwards with signal glory and success.

The reduction of Hulft,

HAVING passed the river, and put his troops in fafety, the duke ordered new levies to be made in Germany, Burgundy, and the fouthern provinces of the Netherlands; after which, he went, on account of his indisposition, to drink the waters at Spa. He had no fooner fet out. than prince Maurice, having embarked four thousand foot and six hundred horse, made a fudden descent on that part of Flanders called the county of Waes, and invested the town of Hulft. Mondragone, the governor of Antwerp, loft no time in drawing together fuch forces as were stationed in the neighbouring places, with an intention to raise the siege. But Maurice having pierced the dykes, had laid the country under water, and rendered it impossible for Mondragone to approach. ably to the intelligence which had induced the prince to engage in his present enterprize, the garrison of Hulst was weak, and they were badly furnished both with provisions and mili-

PHILIPIL KING OF SPAIN

1591.

tary stores. Their defence therefore was spiritless and feeble, and they foon agreed to a furrendered assistant and to was no basiling any

the city had been kept to long under the Sitto ... FROM Hulft, Maurice returned unexpectedly and Nimeto Knotzenberg; and as there was no Spanish army near, he threw a bridge over the Waal, and laid fiege to Nimeguen. The garrison, confifting of Germans and Walloons, made feveral fallies to retard his approach: and, if they had been seconded by the townsmen, the reduction of a place of fo great extent and ftrength as Nimeguen, must have detained him long. But he had for some time past held a fecret correspondence with some of the principal inhabitants, and the people in general were extremely disaffected to the Spanish government. They took courage now, when Maurice was at hand to support them, and having rifen tumultuously, required the garrison, in the most peremptory manner, to put an end to their calamities by a furrender of the town. The garrison, conscious of their inability to resist both the citizens and the enemy, complied with their request; and Maurice was received by them rather as their deliverer from flavery, than as a conqueror by whose arms they had been fubdued. They were admitted to the fame privileges as the other towns of the confederacy;

BOOK XXII. and although the administration was put into the hands of the Protestants, yet no punishment was inflicted on any of the Catholics, by whom the city had been kept so long under the Spanish government.

AFTER this important acquisition, Maurice set out for the Hague, and received there the most flattering testimonies of gratitude, attachment, and respect. The prudence with which his enterprizes had been concerted, and the celerity and vigour with which he had carried them into execution, filled all Europe with his renown, and gave his countrymen the most sanguine hopes of suture prosperity and success,

State of the

THEIR condition was extremely different at this period from what it had ever been fince the confederacy had been formed; till lately they had experienced an uninterrupted course of calamities; they had been perpetually disturbed with intestine broils, and had lived under continual anxiety, occasioned partly by the neighbourhood of their active enterprising enemy, and partly by the persidious designs of those whom they had intrusted with the reins of government. But their domestic dissentions were now composed; the enemy was removed

to a greater distance, and their frontier was formed either by towns strongly fortified, or by navigable rivers, in which they could avail themselves of the superiority of their naval They were no longer disquieted by sufpicions of the fidelity of their governors; and the loss which they had suffered by the death of the prince of Orange, was compensated by the extraordinary merit of his fon.

Bu'r there was nothing which contributed fo Frenchafmuch to inspire them with their present hopes, as their knowledge of Philip's attention being ftill as much engroffed as ever with the affairs of France. In profecution of his plan for acquiring the fovereignty of that kingdom, by fomenting the war, he had, after the duke of Parma raised the siege of Paris, afforded the leaders of the league only fuch affiftance as was necessary to save them from being overwhelmed. Their power was at this time exceedingly reduced, while that of the King had received a proportional augmentation. By his bravery and good conduct, joined to his clemency and moderation, Henry had allured great numbers of his rebellious subjects to their duty; and had, at the same time, engaged the Protestants in Germany, and the queen of England, to interest themselves more deeply than ever in his cause. For several months past he had

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had been absolute master of the field, and he had lately begun the siege of Rouen, with an army amounting nearly to thirty thousand horse and foot. Both the town and garrison were commanded by the Sieur de Villars, who displayed the highest degree of intrepidity, vigilance, and skill in the defence. But there was little probability of his being able to defend it long against so powerful an army, whose operations were conducted by so great a master in the art of war.

Siege of Rouen.

THE duke de Mayenne, and other Catholic leaders, dreaded that the reduction of fo important a place as Rouen would prove fatal to their party, and they had exerted themselves strenuously to relieve it; but having no army, with which they could venture to enter the lifts with the King, they had recourse as formerly to Philip, and spared no pains to convince him, that if he did not speedily interpose, Rouen, and all the other towns in their possession, must ere long fubmit to the King's victorious arms. They were feconded in their application by the Spanish ministers in France; and in confequence of instructions fent from Madrid to the duke of Parma, that general, after his return from Spa, had been entirely occupied in preparing to lead his army a fecond time to the affiftance of the league.

His

His preparations were finished about the BOOK middle of December, and on the 21st of that month he began his march, taking the same Duke of Parma's second expewas joined by the duke de Mayenne in the dition into province of Picardy, and his army, after the reinforcement brought him by the duke, amounted to five and twenty thousand foot and fix thoufand horse. Parma's army, and he regulied

As, in order to preserve his troops fresh and vigorous, he marched only a few miles each day, it was near the end of January before he reached the province of Normandy. At that time the fiege of Rouen was far advanced, and the garrison was reduced to the last extremity. When the King therefore heard of the duke of Parma's approach, he could not refolve to relinquish his enterprise; but he left his infantry to profecute the fiege, and advanced towards the duke with his cavalry, in hopes that, by haraffing and retarding him on his march, the garrison would be obliged to capitulate before he could arrive.

By his vigilance, intrepidity, and quick dif- Danger of cernment, Henry was admirably fitted for the Aumale, bold and dangerous enterprise in which he was now engaged; but his impetuous courage was not always

BOOK XXII.

always under the government of prudence, and betraved him fometimes into rash and desperate attempts, more becoming an officer of inferior rank, than a general or a king. Of this he gave a striking proof in his conduct on the pre-Having advanced before the fent occasion. rest of the cavalry with three or four hundred horse, he met, unexpectedly, near the town of Aumale, with the forerunners of the duke of Parma's army, and he repulsed them with little difficulty; but although the whole Spanish army was in fight, he would not retire till he had taken a view of the order of their march, nor even after he faw the duke's light horse adwancing towards him. With these likewise he encountered, and fought long and desperately, till many of his troops had fallen by his side, and he himself was wounded. Had not the duke of Parma suspected an ambuscade, he might eafily have cut off the King's retreat. He was urged by Mayenne to fend forward more troops for that purpose, but he refused to comply with the duke's request; and when he was afterwards reminded of the opportunity which he had loft, he replied, that he could not reproach himself for his conduct, as he supposed, that, in the king of Navarre, he had a great general to contend with, and not merely the captain of a troop of horse. HENRY

PHILIPII. KING OF SPAIN.

HENRY was no fooner able, after his wound, BOOK to get on horseback, than he resumed his first design of annoying the enemy on their march; and this he did with more circumspection than before, but with fuch indefatigable vigour and activity, as kept the duke of Parma in perpetual alarms. Several warm rencounters passed, in which the fuccess was various. The duke's vigilance, and the perfect discipline which he maintained, preserved his army from sustaining any great calamity. His march however was confiderably retarded, and there was much reafon to apprehend, that the befreged would be compelled to furrender before he could advance to their relief.

Nothing less than the intrepidity and skill Spirited of Villars could have protracted the fiege to fo Villars. great a length. This brave man, far from having any thoughts of capitulating, afpired to the glory of raising the siege without the affiftance of the Spaniards. With this view he refolved to take advantage of the abfence of the King, and to exert at once his whole force in an attack on the beliegers. Never was attack conducted with more intrepidity and vigour. Great numbers of the royalists were put to the sword; the marshal de Biron, their commander in chief, was wounded; their trenches were filled up; many of their

cannon

B O O K XXII. cannon were spiked, or buried in the ditch; and their stores of provision and ammunition were either carried into the town or destroyed. Villars was at last repulsed, and obliged to retire within the walls; but not till the enemy had suffered so much loss by the destruction of their works and stores, that he expected to be able to defend the town for several months longer, if his garrison were reinforced.

Or this happy change in his fituation, Villars gave immediate notice to the duke of Parma, and advised him to turn his arms to some other quarter, where they might be employed with greater advantage to the common cause. It was suspected, that vanity had considerable influence in prompting Villars to give this advice. The duke was within two days march of Rouen when he received it, and he immediately called a council of war to consider of what was proper to be done.

He was himself of opinion, that he ought still to pursue his march, in order to attack the enemy before they had recovered from their confusion; and he observed, that if he should only send a reinforcement to the garrison, as the governor had desired, the king of Navarre would instantly renew the operations of the siege, and probably exert himself with greater vigour

vigour than before. But the duke de Mayenne BOOK and the other French nobility, less bold on this occasion than the duke of Parma, represented. that, notwithstanding the disaster which had befallen the royalifts, it would be extremely dangerous to attack them in their intrenchments whilft their cavalry were fo numerous, that when the nobility, who ferved without pays and were already impatient under the length of the fiege, and the rigour of the feafon, faw that there was no prospect of a battle, they would leave the camp, and retire to their respective homes; that the duke might then attack the King with the highest probability of success; and that till then the troops might either be employed in some other enterprise, or conducted to winter-quarters, whence they might iffue forth fresh and vigorous, when a more advantageous feason for action should arrive. Whether Mayenne spoke from conviction on this occasion, or from his dread of the duke of Parma's acquiring too great a superiority over the King, is doubtful. Farnese was not entirely fatisfied with his reasoning, and could not approve of a resolution to neglect one favourable opportunity, on account of the uncertain expectation of another. But as the proposal was perfectly consistent with his plan of protracting the war, he complied with it;

BOOK XXII. and, having fent eight hundred felect troops to reinforce the garrison of Rouen, he led his army back to Picardy, and invested the town of St. Esprit de Rue.

He had no fooner fet out, than the King applied himself with the utmost diligence to the prosecution of the siege of Rouen; and as he received at this time a seasonable supply of cannon and ammunition from the States of Holland, he was enabled to carry on his operations with greater success than ever.

The fiege of Rouen raifed.

In a few weeks the garrison was again reduced to the most critical situation, and Villars, notwithstanding the confidence, of which he had lately given fo strong a proof, was obliged to let the duke of Parma know, that, if he did not return to his relief before the twentieth of April, he would find it necessary to give up the town. Mayenne was now as folicitous to persuade the duke of Parma to lead his army against the King, as he had been formerly reluctant and averse. And the duke more readily yielded to his defire, as certain intelligence had been received, that, agreeably to Mayenne's prediction, the cavalry in the King's army did not at this time amount to more than the half of their former number. Having drawn off his troops from St. Esprit de

de Rue, he fet out without delay for Rouen, BOOK and proceeded with fo great expedition, that he performed the same march in six days, which had formerly cost him twenty.

to divo this orders of

THE King was equally disappointed and furprised when he heard of his approach. He dreaded the danger to which his army would be exposed, if he remained in his present situation, between so brave a garrison on the one hand, and the Spanish army on the other; and he would have gone to meet the duke of Parma at a distance from the town; but finding, upon an accurate review of his troops, that they were greatly inferior in number to the enemy, he raised the siege, after it had lasted five April 201 months, and retired to Pont de l'Arche, with a resolution to wait there for a return of his nobility. The duke of Parma in the mean time advanced in battle array, and entered Rouen in a kind of triumph. From Rouen he led his army, by the advice of Mayenne, and the other leaders of the league, against Caudbec, which it was thought necessary to reduce, before the deliverance of Rouen could be deemed complete.

In taking a review of the fortifications, and Duke of marking the ground for batteries, which he wounded at did as on other occasions, with his own hand, VOL. III. he

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BOOK he received a wound by a musket-ball, which entered his arm a little below the elbow, and pierced downward till it lodged in his wrift. Without any change in his voice or countenance, he continued to give his orders as before, nor could his fon and the other by-standers perfuade him to retire till he had inftructed them fully in his deligns. In order to discover the course of the ball, his furgeon wund it neceffary to make three different incisions; and the pain occasioned by these and the wound brought on a fever, which confined him to his bed for several days. This accident had almost proved fatal to his army and to the league. The fiege of Caudbec was conducted agreeably to his direction, and was foon brought to a conclusion; but in undertaking this fiege, the duke had committed the only confiderable blunder which we meet with in the history of his life. Caudbec lies in the peninfula of Caux, which is formed by the Seine on the west, and the sea and the river d'Eu, or Bresle, on the north and east. As the King, by posfeffing the towns of Eu, Arques, and Dieppe, commanded the entrance into Caux from the east, it was impossible for the army of the league to get out of it, but either by croffing the Seine, or returning fouthward the same road by which they had entered the peninfula, In this way they might have escaped, if they had 10

had attempted it in time; and perhaps they BOOK would have done fo, had it not been judged necessary for the general's recovery, that he should remain for several days at Caudbec.

THE King quickly perceived the advantage The Spanish which was presented to him, and exerted him- ed up in felf with ardour to improve it. Having, im- Caux. mediately after he had raised the siege of Rouen. dispatched messengers to summon his nobility to return to his camp, they had obeyed his fummons with their wonted alacrity; and in the space of a few days, his army was augmented to seventeen thousand foot, and between seven and eight thousand horse. With this army he left Pont de l'Arche on the 30th of April and arrived on the same day within sight of the enemy, who had encamped at Yvetot, which lies at the distance of three or four miles from Caudbec.

HENRY's first care was to fortify his camp in fuch a manner, that it might not be in the power of the enemy to compel him to engage; and his next, to make himself master of all the defiles through which they might attempt to force their passage. Many hot rencounters happened, in which both parties gave conspicuous proofs of prowess and intrepidity. The royalists were frequently repulsed from their sta-

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tions, and much blood was spilt. But at last they accomplished their design, and hemmed in the enemy so closely that it was no longer practicable for them to approach to the outlet from the peninsula. In this situation they remained a fortnight. Their stock of provisions was almost spent, and Henry began to indulge the flattering hope, that in a few days they would lay down their arms.

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Their paffage of the Seine at Caudbec. Nothing but the bold inventive genius of the duke of Parma could have faved them from this difgrace: he had erred when he entered the peninfula, while so vigilant an enemy as Henry was so near. Neither the importunity of the chiefs of the league, nor his ignorance of the country, nor the hopes of finishing his enterprize before the King could arrive, are entirely sufficient to justify his conduct. But he now fully atoned for his imprudence in exposing his troops to so great a risk, by the extraordinary capacity and vigour which he exerted in their deliverance.

As foon as he had recovered from the diftress occasioned by his wound, and taken a view of the position and strength of the enemy, he perceived that it would be in vain to attempt to force their lines; and consequently, that there was no other way by which he could save his army from captivity or ruin, but by trans- BOOK porting it over the river. To this expedient he resolved to have recourse, and he communicated his design to the duke de Mayenne. and fome other of his most experienced officers, who all pronounced it to be impracticable. They knew how difficult it was to pass even the most inconsiderable river in sight of an enemy, and they could not conceive it possible for an army fo much incumbered with artillery and baggage, to pass so broad a river as the Seine at Caudbec, when not only a powerful enemy, fo vigilant as the King, but the Dutch ships of war likewise, were prepared to obstruct their paffage. Daice employed a prest num!

THE duke was fully sensible of all the difficulties with which his enterprize must be attended, but as the urgent necessity of his situation would not fuffer him to relinquish it, he persisted in his resolution of attempting to carry it into execution.

HAVING first cleared the river of the Dutch ships, by planting batteries along the banks, he ordered the Sieur de Villars to hold all the boats and barks at Rouen in readiness, and to prepare a number of rafts of strong beams fit for transporting the artillery. After this, taking advantage of a thick mift, on the 16th of

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May,

BOOK XXII. May, he sent out his cavalry by day-break, as if he intended an attack, and while the enemy were thus amused, he drew off his infantry from Yvetot to Caudbec. The cavalry followed; and as soon as they had retired, the King advanced with all his forces, having no suspicion of the Duke's design, and wondering that he should have chosen to move his camp to a situation in which it was more confined and straitened than before. Henry still thought of nothing but blocking up the passages, and fortifying his camp so as not to be obliged to accept of battle.

While the King was thus occupied, the Duke employed a great number of pioneers in raising two forts, one on each side of the river, directly opposite to each other, which he planted with cannon, and lined with musketeers. To prevent the King from taking the alarm, he maintained all the same appearances as formerly, of a design to enlarge his quarters, and frequent skirmishes were fought.

At last, every thing necessary being prepared, the rasts and the boats (of which there was a great number at Rouen employed in the rivertrade) sell down with the ebbing tide, in the evening of the 20th of May; and, on the same night, the greatest part of the troops, artillery,

and

and baggage was transported. The King per- 3 0 0 xxn. ceiving early next morning a change in the appearance of the enemy's camp, fent the baron de Biron to reconnoitre it. The baron returned immediately at full gallop, calling out, that the Spaniards were paffing the river. Henry fet out without delay, at the head of his cavalry. When he came in fight, he had the mortification to observe, that only two or three thousand of the Spaniards remained on this fide, and that they were fo fkilfully defended by the fort, that he could not approach them without facrificing the lives of many of his troops. He then planted his artillery on a hill which commanded the passage, and the Dutch ships came up the river from Quillebeuf; but before the cannon were ready to fire, and before the Dutch were near enough to do execution, the rear of the Spaniards, conducted with much prudence by prince Rannucio, the duke of Parma's fon, had landed fafe on the other fide, and fet the boats on fire.

NEITHER the King nor any of the French nobility had ever suspected that such a retreat was possible; and this circumstance, joined to the nature of the ground near Caudbec, which concealed the duke of Parma's operations, contributed not a little to the fortunate iffue of his enterprise. Henry had for several days enter-

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tained

B O O K XXII. tained the most sanguine hopes of gaining a decisive victory, which would probably have given him immediate possession of his kingdom; and his mortification now was in proportion to the considence of his former expectations: it was the more sensible and galling as his infantry was so much exhausted by the hardships of a tedious winter's campaign, that it was impossible for him at present either to pursue the enemy, or to renew the siege of Rouen. The duke de Mayenne entered this city with a part of the forces, and the duke of Parma directed his march towards the Netherlands, where he arrived in a sew weeks without receiving any molestation by the way.

History of Antonio Perez.

WHILE Philip thus kept alive the flames of war in France, he had the good fortune to preferve his Spanish dominions in a state of undisturbed tranquillity; and as a kingdom in this situation furnishes sew materials for history, hardly any transaction passed in Spain during several years preceding the present period that deserves to be recorded; but in the course of this year an affair happened, which, while it marks the character, and shews the secret life of Philip, was attended with the most serious consequences.

HAVING

h D'Avila, lib. xiii. Bentiveglio, part ii. lib. vi.; and Thuanus, lib. ciii.

BOOK XXII.

HAVING been engaged in a love intrigue with Anna Mendoza princess of Eboli, he had committed the conduct of it to his fecretary Antonio Perez, who having frequent opportunities of converling with that princels, had become no less enamoured of her than the King; and it was generally believed that she had made him a full return to the paffion which her beauty had inspired. At the time when Antonio's correspondence with the princess was much talked of, Escovedo, the friend and confident of Don John of Austria, had arrived from the Netherlands, to folicit the King for the return of the Italian and Spanish forces; and finding the secretary averse to Don John's defigns, he refolved to take vengeance on him, by making a discovery to the King of what was reported of Antonio's familiarity with the princefs of Eboli. Philip readily believed this intelligence, and conceived an implacable refentment against the secretary; but he was animated at the same time with hatred no less implacable towards Escovedo; who, he believed, had fomented Don John's ambition, and would fooner or later engage that prince in some desperate enterprize inconsistent with his allegiance. Philip resolved to employ one of these men as the instrument of his vengeance against the other,

The wife of Ruy Gomez de Silva.

B O O K XXII.

and gave a private order to Perez to have Efcovedo affaffinated. This order was executed without delay, and foon afterwards a profecution was begun against the murderer, with Philip's permission, by the widow and children of Escovedo. Philip intended by this measure to remove all fuspicions of being accessary to the murder. But dreading that Perez might, for his own exculpation, make a full discovery, he wrote him feveral letters with his own hand, requiring that he would conceal the order which had been given him, and affuring him, that a stop should soon be put to the prosecution. It was stopped accordingly; and although Perez was forbid to come to court himself, he was allowed for some years to transact the feveral branches of public business which had been intrusted to him, by his deputies or clerks. But no time could affuage the King's refentment: after fix years he commanded him to be tried for malversation in the difcharge of his office, and having ordered a fine of thirty thousand ducats to be imposed on him, he threw him into prison and loaded him with chains. Perez was offered his liberty on condition that he should give up all the King's letters relative to the murder of Escovedo. He delivered fome of them, and was released; but Philip was no fooner in possession of the letters, than a new process on account of the murder

was commenced. Perez was again thrown into B O O prison, and put to the torture; and he now perceived, that nothing less than his death was intended. With the affiftance of his wife and friends he escaped and fled to Arragon, his native country, where he expected to avail himfelf of the rights and privileges of the Arragonians. Philip no fooner heard of his escape, than he dispatched certain officers after him, who overtook him in the town of Calataiude; and having forced him from a monastery, where he had taken refuge, conducted him to Saragoffa. When he arrived in that city, he appealed to the Justiza, to whom, according to a fundamental law of the constitution, an appeal was competent from every other judge whether civil or ecclefiaftical.

By the Justiza, Perez was lodged in the state prison, called the Manisestation, to remain there till his cause should be tried. But although no person could legally enter this prison, without the special permission of the Justiza, the marquis of Almenar, the King's attorney for Arragon, broke into it with a body of armed men, and carried off Perez to the prison of the Inquisition. The people, who had ever been accustomed to hold the person and authority of the Justiza in the highest veneration, were inslamed with rage at this indignity,

B O O K XXII. dignity, and having risen tumultuously, they rescued Perez from the inquisitors, surrounded the marquis of Almenar, and after reviling him as a traitor to the liberty of his country, maltreated him in such a manner, that he died soon afterwards of his wounds,

PEREZ was again lodged in the prison of state, and remained there for several months, during which time the governor, or viceroy, ordered thirteen of the principal lawyers of Saragossa, to examine whether the cause belonged more properly to the Justiza, or to the court of inquisition. After long deliberation they declared, that it would be a violation of the liberties of Arragon, if Perez were tried by any other judge than the Justiza; but afterwards, being either corrupted or intimidated, they reversed this sentence, under the pretence, of the prisoner's having held a secret correfpondence with the king of France, a heretic, and pronounced that it belonged to the inquifition to take cognisance of his cause.

THE Justiza paid no regard to this opinion of the lawyers, but persisted in defending the privileges of his office, and in resusing to deliver up the prisoner. The viceroy had recourse to force; and having drawn together a great number of the familiars of the inquisition, he broke

broke open the state prison, loaded Perez with BOOK chains, and was carrying him off in a sort of triumph, when the people arose a second time, and set him at liberty. He immediately lest the town, and made his escape into France, where he gave useful information to the King with regard to the designs and measures of the court of Spain.

Randurd of liberry that was ereded.

PHILIP in the mean time refolved not to neglect the opportunity which this fedition of the Arragonians afforded him, to show how little he regarded those rights and privileges of which they had shewn themselves so tenacious. Having formed an army of the troops which were quartered in different parts of Castile, he gave the command of it to Alphonfo Vargas, with instructions to march to Saragossa with the utmost expedition; and to prevent the Arragonians from preparing for reliftance, he gave our that this army was intended to affift the Catholics in France. The Arragonians however having received certain intelligence of his design, began to prepare for their defence. Lanufa, the Justiza, having convened the principal inhabitants, and read to them a fundamental law of their constitution, by which it is declared. that they have a right to oppose by force the entrance of foreign troops into Arragon, even though the King himself should lead them, it

B O O K XXII. was decreed with unanimous confent, that conformably to this law they should take up arms on the present occasion, to prevent the entrance of the Castilians under Vargas.

Internation of this decree was fent to the other cities of the province, and the inhabitants of Saragossa repaired in great numbers to the standard of liberty that was erected. But they had no leader of sufficient capacity to conduct them, and there was no time for the people in other places to come to their assistance. Vargas having arrived much sooner than they expected, they were overwhelmed with terror, and threw down their arms.

The Juffiza of Arragon put to death. VARGAS entered the city without opposition, and cast such of their leaders as had not made their escape into prison. Among these were the duke de Villa Hermosa, the count of Aranda, and the Justiza. The two first he sent prisoners to Madrid, but he put the Justiza publicly to death without either trial or sentence, and then confiscated his effects, and levelled his houses with the ground; ordering proclamation to be made in the city, that such should be the punishment of all those who, like Lanusa, should adventure to dispute the authority of the King.

THE people heard this infulting proclama- BOOK tion with unspeakable grief and indignation; but they were obliged to lament in fecret the ruin of those invaluable rights which they were unable to defend. The palace of the inquisition was fortified, that it might ferve the purpose of a citadel; and a strong body of Castilian troops were quartered there and in the town, where they remained till the minds of the citizens were thoroughly fubdued. Philip thought it unnecessary to abolish formally their constitution of government, as he had given them fufficient proof how infignificant they would find it, if they should ever trust to it as a barrier against the encroachments of the regal power.

WHILE this transaction passed in Spain, the Sickness of duke of Parma had returned from France to the Parma Netherlands, and from thence the bad flate of his health had made it necessary for him to go once more to drink the waters at Spa. In the time of his French expedition, many of the troops which he had left behind him had mutinied; and on his return from Spa, he had the mortification to find, that prince Maurice had fubdued the two important towns of Steenwich and Coverden, although the former of these places had been fortified in the strongest manner, and was defended by a brave and determined

B O O K termined garrison of one thousand six hundred men.

THE duke's chagrin at these events contributed to quicken the progress of his disease, which having bassled the power of medicine, had now reduced him so low, that sinding himself unable to sulfil the duties of his office, he had applied to the King for liberty to retire.

His death.

Bur Philip believing that no other person was so able to bring his schemes in France to the defired iffue, refused to grant his request; and when he fignified his refusal, sent him inftructions to return as foon as possible to the affiftance of the League. The duke would not defert a flation which he had filled with fo much honour, and refolved to struggle with his diftemper to the last. Having by new levies supplied fome of the vacancies in his army, he went, on the 29th of October, to Arras, and there applied with his wonted affiduity to haften the necessary preparations for his expedition. The strength of his mind counterbalanced for feveral weeks the weakness of his body. From the vigour which he displayed, those about him conceived hopes that his death was still at a confiderable distance. But on the third of December, immediately after figning fome difpatches which had been prepared for his fubfcription,

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fcription, he expired in the forty-feventh year of B O O K his age, and the fourteenth of his government of the Netherlands, and 5200 animon shi to small

In this manner died Alexander Farnese, and characduke of Parma, who claims our admiration, no less for his political wisdom and fagacity, than on account of those more splendid military talents which have procured him fuch diftinguished renown. It was by his prudence, moderation, and address, more than by the force of arms, that he re-united fo great a part of the Netherlands to the Spanish monarchy; and if Philip had paid the same regard to his opinion on all occasions, which he did on some, it is probable that the United Provinces would have been compelled to return to their allegiance. England might in that case have been fubdued, and France might have been swallowed up by the exorbitant power of Spain. Though it was happy for Europe that Philip, blinded by flattery and ambition, refused to liften to the counsels that were offered him, yet we must admire that superior sagacity and penetration by which they were fuggefted.

THE duke of Parma in his youth gave no indications of those extraordinary qualities with which nature had endowed him, and men were even disposed to think unfavourably of his un-Vol. III. derstanding ;

BOOK XXII. derstanding; but in the war with the Turks, in which he served under John of Austria, the stame of his genius broke forth, and burnt afterwards through the whole of his life with unabating splendor. His person was graceful, his eyes lively and penetrating, his manner courteous, his address infinuating, and his temper generous and humane.

His vices, fays a respectable Dutch writer, were those of the age in which he lived, or of the court in which he had been educated; but what these vices were, neither this, nor any other historian has informed us. He appears not to have possessed that winning simplicity of manners, that perfect ingenuity and candour, by which his great rival for military same, the French monarch, was so eminently distinguished; yet the Protestant, as well as Popish historians acknowledge, that as he was dutiful and faithful to his prince, so he maintained the most inviolable sidelity in all his engagements with the people of the Netherlands who submitted to his arms.

k Grotius.

THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND, KING OF SPAIN.

OOK XXIII.

FTER the death of the duke of Parma, BOOI Philip committed the government of the Netherlands to count Peter Ernest of Mansveldt, whom he ordered to fend an army, without delay, under the command of his fon count Charles, to the affiftance of the League. In obedience to this order, Charles immediately began his march with fix thousand foot and one thousand horse, which was the greatest number of troops that could be spared from the defence of the Netherlands. These troops, when joined by those of the duke de Mayenne, composed an army of fifteen thousand foot and three thoufand horse, of which the duke was invested with the chief command.

Manfveldt overnor.

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BOOK XXIII.

1593. Siege of Noyon. He began his operations with the fiege of Noyon, in which he exerted himself with extraordinary vigour, and compelled the garrison to surrender, before the King could arrive to their relies. From Noyon the troops were led into Lower Picardy, where some inconsiderable places were reduced. But soon after this success, count Mansveldt with the Spanish army returned to the Netherlands; and the operations of war were interrupted by certain political negotiations, from which Philip expected to derive greater advantage than from the progress of his arms.

Convention of the States of the League.

HAVING, during feveral years, wasted the blood and treasure of his subjects, in fomenting the war in France, in expectation of some favourable opportunity of feizing upon the crown, his patience had been for fome time past exhausted; and he had resolved to make trial, whether it was practicable to realife those alluring hopes by which he had fo long been actuated. With this view his ministers had repeatedly requested the duke of Mayenne to summon an affembly of the States of the League, that it might be known what Catholic prince they inclined to choose for their fovereign. Mayenne still cherished the hopes of attaining the fovereignty himfelf, in fome future more favourable criss; and he abhorred the thoughts

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of having the French nation subjected to the BOOK dominion of Spain. Influenced by these motives, he had on different pretences declined for feveral months complying with Philip's request; but finding that he would not be diverted from his purpose, the duke had yielded to his importunity, and as lieutenant general of the kingdom, had iffued a fummons for the States to meet at Paris on the twenty-fixth of January one thousand five hundred and ninety-three. Philip fent the duke of Feria, and Mendoza, an eminent Spanish lawyer, to this affembly; and he fondly imagined, that, by their influence, and that of the cardinal Piacenza, the Pope's legate, a majority of the deputies might be perfuaded to abrogate the Salic law, and to place his daughter Isabella on the throne.

Bur it foon appeared how much his mini- Discovery sters in France had deceived him, and been views, themselves deceived. Neither the money which he had fecretly bestowed to increase the number of his partizans, nor the armies which he had employed at fo great an expence in their behalf, had produced in any confiderable degree the effects which he expected. Some of the greatest bigots in the party, and some of the lowest of the people, had given credit to his professions of zeal for religion; even the eyes of these men were now opened, and they perceived

B O O K XXIII.

perceived how little they had been indebted to the friendship of a prince, who now discovered, that his principal defign in affifting them against their enemies, had been to take advantage of their diffress, and to reduce them to the unhappy condition of a province of Spain. For it was in this light, they confidered his proposal; and were no less alarmed at his demand of their crown for Isabella, than if he had demanded it for himself. In these sentiments the deputies were fecretly confirmed by Mayenne. But as both he and they were conscious that they were utterly unable to contend with Henry, if Philip should forsake them, they studied to conceal their aversion to his proposal. They neither agreed to it, nor rejected it; but expressed their solicitude with regard to the person whom the Catholic King should make choice of for his daughter's hufband; and infifted, that in the event of her election, fhe should not be married to any foreign prince.

THE Spanish ministers informed them, that their master had indeed designed to give her in marriage to Ernest archduke of Austria; but since it was not agreeable to the States, he was willing to bestow her upon the duke of Guise. The duke de Mayenne did not expect this concession, and was greatly disconcerted when the Spanish

Spanish ministers produced instructions, em- BOOK powering them to make it. He was flung with the preference which was given to his nephew before his fon; and he now fecretly refolved to obstruct the election of Isabella, to the utmost of his power. Finding it necessary however to disguise his sentiments, he affected to be highly pleafed with the propofal; but alleged, that a regard to the honour of his Catholic majesty, as well as to the safety of the duke of Guife, required that the election of Isabella should be deferred till an army was affembled, fufficient to overpower her enemies, and to fix her upon the throne. At present there was no army in France able to contend with the king of Navarre, and a confiderable time must elapse before fo great a force as was necessary could be raised. The Spanish ministers were sensible of the strength of this objection; they likewife knew that, without the affiftance of Mayenne, they could not perfuade the States to proceed to the election; and therefore, without great opposition, they agreed to a delay. In this manner did the duke de Mayenne, influenced partly by ambition, and partly by concern for the freedom and independence of the kingdom, disappoint for the present Philip's plan to enflave it; and other events afterwards happened, which would have rendered it impossible, even

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1593-

for Mayenne himfelf, had he been fo inclined, to carry it into execution. meda con rise w strong and an

Henry IV. embraces religion.

THE king of France, who knew the purpose the Catholic for which the States had been convened, though he was in a great measure ignorant of Mayenne's views, dreaded violently his concurring with the Spaniards; and felt great anxiety with respect to the consequences which might follow. For Philip, he believed, would regard an election made by the States of the League, though only a small part of the kingdom, as a sufficient foundation for his daughter's claim, and would employ all his power to support it, whatever prejudice might thence arise to his affairs in the Netherlands. On the first opening of the assembly, Henry published an edict declaring it to be illegal. And he gave permission at the same time to the Catholic lords of his party, to enter into a conference with those of the League; intending to prevent the States from proceeding to extremities, by affording them the prospect of his speedy conversion to the Popish faith.

> This expedient was in some measure attended with the defired effect. The nobility of the League, disquieted with the apprehensions of being reduced under the dominion of Spain, and

and conscious, that, if Philip should abandon Book them, they must soon yield to the King's victorious arms, were thrown into extreme perplexity; and many of them shewed that nothing was wanting but Henry's conversion, to determine them to acknowledge his authority. This condition however was still as necessary as ever. From the long continuance of the war, their religious prejudices were become uncon-With these their sense of honour and confistency conspired, and their regard to an oath which they had fworn, never to acknowledge an heretical prince for their fovereign. They were confirmed in their resolution, by the Pope's legate, and by the archbishop of Lyons, and other partizans of Spain; and were still as much determined as ever to adhere to their engagements, without regard to any inconveniencies or dangers, to which they might thereby be exposed.

WHILE the delay of the King's conversion proved an infurmountable objection against him with the members of the League, it gave the most sensible uneasiness to such of the Catholics as had espoused his cause. They had been induced to remain with him, after the death of the late King, by his promise of embracing their religion. They had often urged him to sulfil this promise. Amidst the hurry

1593.

BOOK of arms, he found it easy to employ excuses, with which they had hitherto been fatisfied. But their patience was now exhaufted. They entertained suspicions that he had dealt infincerely with them. Though brave and warlike, they were fick of the hardships and fatigues of war; and they began to hold conferences together, on the subject of transferring their allegiance to Henry's cousin, the cardinal of Bourbon. Henry perceived that the critical period was now come, when he must resolve either to change his religion, or to forego the crown, and expose himself and his Protestant fubjects to the fury and vengeance of all the Catholics in France, supported by his inveterate enemy the king of Spain. Even some of the Protestant leaders were so candid as to acknowledge, that without embracing the Catholic faith, he would never be able to preferve poffession of the throne; and they exhorted him to embrace it, if his confcience would permit, as the only means by which they, as well as his other subjects, could be faved from ruin.

> NEVER was an ingenuous prince placed in a more distressful situation. And never was a virtuous mind affailed by temptations more alluring. For he was not impelled only by ambition, or the defire of fecuring a great and mighty monarchy to himself and his posterity. The

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The defire of delivering his people from cala- B 0.9. mities, which were become intolerable, cooperated with his ambition, and both together put his integrity to the feverest trial.

WITHOUT any longer delay, he invited the Catholic divines throughout his kingdom, to come and instruct him in the principles of their religion; and having heard them discourse concerning feveral of the points in dispute between the Protestants and them, he declared himself entirely fatisfied with their arguments, and foon afterwards went to mass in the church of St. Dennis, where he read aloud his confession of the Catholic faith, and promifed to maintain and defend it, against whatever attempts might be made for its subversion.

HENRY's conduct on this occasion was very differently interpreted by his cotemporaries, according as they stood well or ill affected to his person, or to the religion which he had embraced. It was alleged by forne, that he had given a convincing proof of his indifference with regard to all religion, and that his conversion could be considered in no other light. but as hypocrify and grimace. But others more justly observed, that if Henry had been capable of fo great infincerity as his enemies ascribed to him, he would have listened to his interest BOOK XXIII.

interest at a much earlier period, aud not have fo long exposed himself to the danger of being for ever excluded from the throne. That no other fatisfactory account could be given of his delay, but the scruples with which his regard to truth and his fense of honour had infpired him. That it was not furprifing, that a prince who had passed his life amidst the tumults of war, should have been but very imperfectly acquainted with the niceties of theological disputes; or that his opinions in matters of fuch difficult decision, should have been gradually bent to a compliance with fo great an interest, as he had at stake. And considering how candid and fincere he had ever shewn himfelf in all his conduct, it might justly be furposed that he had still preserved his integrity, and that his religious fentiments had in reality undergone that change which he now expressed with fo much feeming feriousness and folemnity.

Effects of Henry's conversion. Whatever were the real motives of Henry's conduct, it diffused a general joy and satisfaction among his subjects. Worn out with the miseries of so long a war, they exulted at the prospect of peace, though still at some distance; and being now freed from the sascination of their religious prejudices, they could perceive and admire those illustrious virtues in the

the character of their fovereign, by which he BOOK was fo highly qualified to make them happy.

THE Spanish ministers, on the other hand, the cardinal legate, and the duke de Mayenne, were greatly alarmed at this event, and still more when they observed the reception which the news of it met with among the people. They represented it as a political device, intended to prevent the election of a Catholic prince. They perfuaded a great number of their adherents to fwear that they would not acknowledge Henry for King, unless his conversion were ratified by the Pope; and at the fame time they employed all their influence at the court of Rome, to diffuade the Pope from granting him an absolution.

PHILIP was not discouraged from the pro- Philip fill fecution of his scheme, either by the oppo- his plan. fition which it had received from the States of the League, or by the conversion of the King. He became fensible however of his error in pitching on the duke of Guise (a young nobleman indeed of great merit and moderation, but possessed of little power or influence) for his daughter's partner in the throne. This error he corrected, and ordered his ministers to acquaint the duke de Mayenne, that he was now determined to give the preference to his

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B O O K XXIII. 2593.

fon. In consequence of this declaration, a negociation which Mayenne had begun for reconciling himself to the King, was broken off. That powerful leader and the Spaniards were henceforth on more amicable terms; and there was no longer any reason to doubt, that in future he would exert himself with vigour in promoting their designs.

State of his

But there was much less probability at the present than any former period, that these defigns would ever be accomplished. Philip had no general after the duke of Parma's death, qualified to enter the lifts with the king of France. His treasury was exhausted, and even his credit was reduced so low, that the Genoese, and other Italian merchants, from whom he had already borrowed feveral millions of money, refused to lend him any more. His commanders in the Netherlands had not been able to make the necessary levies. His troops there were fewer in number than they had ever been fince the commencement of the war; and vet fo great arrears were due to them, that the officers found it impracticable to maintain their authority. The greatest part of the Spanish foldiers in the Low-Countries had, upon their return from France, forfaken their standards;

D'Avila, lib. xiv. Thuanus, lib. cvi, cvii.

and having elected officers, and a commander BOOK in chief, from among themselves, they had begun to exercise the most oppressive rapacity upon the inhabitants of the fouthern provinces.

THE example of the Spaniards was quickly followed by the Italians and Walloons. The people in the open country were plundered in the most unmerciful manner. Those dreadful scenes of devastation were renewed, which had been acted after the death of Requesens; and the Flemings had never fuffered fo much from the enemy, as they now fuffered from troops engaged to protect and defend them.

PRINCE Maurice in the mean time exerted Siege of Gerall his wonted activity to improve the advantage which these disorders afforded him, for extending the territories of the States. There was no town which the confederates were more defirous of acquiring than Gertrudenberg; which, as it lies nearer them than Breda, fubjected them to perpetual anxiety for the prefervation of that important city; besides giving annoyance to their inland trade, and furnishing the Spaniards with an easy entrance into Holland.

DURING the winter, Maurice had made diligent preparation for the fiege of this place;

BOOK and early in the spring, he was ready to take the field with fuch an army as he judged fufficient to infure fuccess. In order to prevent the enemy from suspecting his design, he directed his march first towards Sluys and Dunkirk; afterwards to Bois-le-Duc and Grave; and when by these feints he had induced count Mansveldt to divide his forces, he turned suddenly to Gertrudenberg.

> Mansveldt, anxious to avoid the reproach to which the loss of a place of so great consequence would expose him, drew together all the forces which could be spared from the garrisons of the other towns, with an intention to attempt to raise the siege. Prince Maurice expected this, and conducted his operations with the utmost celerity. Not only his pioneers, amounting to three thousand, but a great number of his troops were employed day and night in fortifying his camp, both on the fide towards the town, to prevent the eruptions of the garrison, and on the fide towards the coun-And not fatisfied with this, he broke down the dyke of the river, and laid a great part of the adjacent country under water. After which, having approached the town as usual by trenches, he opened batteries against it at different places, and kept up a continual fire

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fire upon it from his fleet, on the fide towards the river.

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THE garrison, consisting of Burgundians and Walloons, made a brave and vigorous reliftance, and thereby gave count Mansveldt time to advance to their relief. The count's army amounted to more than double the number of the beliegers; and he attacked their intrenchments in different places, where the inundation: permitted his approach. But Maurice had constructed his works with so much art, and strengthened them in such a manner with forts and redoubts, at proper diffances, that all count Mansveldt's attempts proved ineffectual. The count's quarters were at the fame time greatly straitened by the garrison of Breda, which fallied out upon him, and made confiderable flaughter among his troops. He found it necessary to retire, and Gertrudenberg soon afterwards capitulated. In the garrison there were feveral of those foldiers, who some years before had fold the town to the Spaniards. These men suffered the punishment due to their treachery, but all the rest, and the inhabitants of the place, received the most advantageous and honourable terms.

The Maese at Gertrudenberg is more properly a branch of the sea than a river, and admits of the largest ships.

HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF

B O O K XXIII. Count Mansveldt had, in order to retrieve his honour, by making reprisals upon the enemy, led his army from Gertrudenberg, to invest an important fort belonging to the consederates, called Creveceur. But this attempt likewise was frustrated by the celerity of Maurice, who arrived before the count's lines were finished, got between him and the fort, and though greatly inferior in number, obliged him quickly to raise the siege.

During the rest of the campaign, Mansveldt acted on the desensive; and no other event happened in the Netherlands this year, that deserves to be recorded.

Erneft archduke of Auftria, Governor of the Netherlands.

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ALTHOUGH Philip had, after the death of the duke of Parma, committed the government to count Mansveldt, he had from the first intended that the count should resign it into the hands of Ernest archduke of Austria. This prince arrived in the beginning of the year one thousand five hundred and ninety-four at Brussels; and was received there with every mark of joy and satisfaction. He was a prince of a modest and gentle disposition; but he possessed not the capacity and vigour requisite in the present critical situation of as-

Bentivoglio and Grotius, lib. ili.

fairs.

fairs. Confcious of his want of military talents, B o o s he fondly flattered himself with the hopes of prevailing on the revolted provinces to return to their allegiance by argument and perfusion. And with this view he fent an invitation to the States to appoint ambassadors to treat with him concerning peace. But the States rejected his invitation, and accompanied their refusal with declaring, "That as from experience they could not repose any confidence in the King of Spain, fo they would never enter into any treaty of reconcilement with him; but would maintain their liberty to the last, and lay down their lives fooner than fubmit to that intolerable yoke from which they had been so happily delivered."

If it is true, as the Dutch historians relate, that two murderers were detected at this time. whom the Spanish ministers had employed to affaffinate prince Maurice, it will not appear furprifing that this declaration of the States should have contained expressions of resentment; especially as they were now in a much more flourishing condition than before, and had much less reason than at any former period to dread the power of Spain. For Philip, they knew, was still more intent on acquiring the erown of France, than on recovering his hereditary dominions; and was likely to waste his Ra

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BOOK his strength in that chimerical attempt, before he could be made fensible of his folly. merciling of the revoked movinges to return

Affairs of France,

THE situation of affairs in that kingdom became daily more unfavourable to his views; and the King's conversion foon produced the happy effects which were expected to arife from it. he tow its to be identified to be the profession

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Wife and generous conduct of the King.

THE citizens of Meaux were the first who fent him a tender of their fubmission; not long afterwards, the Parifians opened their gates to receive him; and the example of the metropolis, which had ever been the chief strength of the League, was quickly followed by Rouen, Lyons, and almost all the other great towns in the kingdom. Henry's conduct was admirably calculated to promote that affectionate zeal of his subjects, of which he received at this time fo many striking proofs. For feveral vears he had fuffered from them the most cruel injuries and affronts; but his generous spirit, fuperior to refentment, abhorred the thought of punishing those who were willing to lay down their arms, and he received the fubmiffion of his most inveterate enemies, with a degree of goodness and condescension, which, while he won their hearts, determined many others to imitate their example.

HE granted to all who submitted to him, the most favourable terms; confirmed their privileges, as if they had done nothing to forfeit them; adhered with inviolable fidelity to his engagements, and published an edict of general indemnity, in order to fet the minds of the people every where at ease, and to convince them that it would be their fault, and not his, if the public tranquillity were not speedily re-

By these measures, which were equally prudent and magnanimous, the strength of the League was reduced fo low, that Philip and the duke of Mayenne might have eafily perceived the vanity of their defigns,

IT can hardly be imagined, that either the Philip's one or the other could any longer feriously entertain the hopes of fuccefs. But Mayenne was fo deeply engaged with the Spaniards, that he knew not how to extricate himself with honour; especially as he had solemnly sworn, with many others of his party, that he would never acknowledge Henry for his fovereign, till he should receive absolution from the Pope. And though Philip could not now be fo chimerical, as to expect to procure the crown for Isabella, yet he could not overcome that implacable hatred, with which he had long been animated against

motives for profecuting

the French monarch, in whom (judging of Henry from himself) he expected to find an irreconcileable and mortal foe. Besides, be was not ignorant of the justice of Henry's claim to the kingdom of Navarre, which Ferdinand the catholic had wrested from Henry's ancestors by fraud and violence; and he could not doubt that this active victorious prince would, as foon as his affairs were fettled in France, either attempt to recover his hereditary kingdom, or endeavour to procure a compensation for it, by invading the Spanish dominions in the Netherlands.

Moved by these considerations, Philip refolved to continue his hostilities, and by joining his forces with those of the duke of Mayenne, to make himself master of as many towns as possible on the eastern frontier of France.

Siege of La Capelle.

This resolution he communicated to the archduke Ernest; who, agreeably to his instructions, sent count Charles of Mansvelde early in the fpring to invade the province of Picardy, with an army of between eleven and twelve thousand men. The count laid siege to the town of La Capelle; and as he attacked it unexpectedly, he foon obliged the garrison to 9th May. capitulate.

PHILIP II. KING OF SPAIN.

THE King had fet out from Paris as foon as 300 K he received intelligence of the fiege, but could not arrive in time to prevent the furrender. Siege Having been joined on his march by the dukes laon. De Nevers and Bouillon, and finding himself at the head of a considerable army, he refolved to undertake some important enterprise, by which he might be compensated for the loss of La Capelle. One of the most considerable towns in that part of the kingdom was Laon, a place of great extent, strongly fortified, and well provided with every thing necessary to fustain a fiege. The garrison, which was numerous, was commanded by De Bourg, one of the bravest officers of the League; and there was at that time in the town, besides a great number of other nobility, the count of Somerive, the duke de Mayenne's fecond fon. These considerations, far from discouraging the King from besieging Laon, were the motives which determined him to invest it, and he carried on his operations against it with his usual activity and vigilance.

THE belieged gave him all the annoyance and interruption in their power; and in some fallies which they made, before he had time to cover his troops, he lost more than four hundred men. But his anxiety with regard to

I Twelve thousand foot, and two thousand horse.

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BOOK the iffue of this enterprise, arose principally from the neighbourhood of the Spanish army. which was joined at this time by the duke de Mayenne, whom Philip, in order to prevent him from entering into an accommodation with the King, had entrusted with the chief command. Lafricani anvil a lafraisan en la sala

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Mayenne attempts in vain to raife the fiege.

VARIOUS motives concurred on this occasion to determine Mavenne to exert himself with vigour. There was much need of some splendid instance of success to support the drooping fpirits of his party. Laon was the most confiderable town which remained in his possession; and besides his son, and many of his faithful adherents, he had left his most valuable effects in it, as in a place where there was little danger of their falling into the hands of the enemy. He lost no time in marching to its relief. His army confifted of nearly the same number as that of the King, but being inferior in cavalry, he found it necessary to approach the town on that fide, on which there lay a wood or forest, where the enemy's horse could not be easily employed. Henry had penetrated into his defign, and taken possession of the wood with a part of his troops. Mayenne at first obliged them to retire; but the royalists having immediately received a reinforcement from the camp, returned to the charge, and stood their ground

ground for fome time with great bravery against BOOK the Spanish veterans. They would have been compelled however to give way a fecond time, if the royal cavalry, which had advanced to their relief, under the baron, now marshal de Biron, had not, conformably to their valiant leader's example and command, difmounted from their horses, and thrown themselves into the front of the battle. The King himfelf foon after came up with the greatest part of his army; and if the ground had permitted it, a general engagement would have enfued, but it allowed only of skirmishes, which continued with various fuccess till the evening; when Mayenne, dreading that the King might fend his cavalry to attack his rear, drew off his forces to a little distance from the wood.

ALTHOUGH the nature of the ground in this rencounter prevented the King from availing himself of the superiority of his cavalry, yet this fuperiority proved afterwards of the greatest use. Mayenne being obliged to bring his provisions through an open country from places at the distance of several miles, the King sent out his horse in numerous bodies to intercept his convoys; and, although the Duke attempted to bring them under a strong guard in the night,

fometimes

[·] His father had been lately killed at the fiege of Epernay.

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fometimes from one place, and fometimes from another; yet fuch was the vigilance of the duke de Longueville, and the marshal de Biron, to whom the King gave the charge of intercepting them, that almost none of them were fuffered to escape. These bold adventurous leaders were continually in motion. No guards which Mayenne could spare were able to withstand their vigorous attack, and his army was at last reduced to fo great diffress, as made it necesfary for him to decamp. He was fensible how difficult he must find it to retire in the face of a fuperior army; but if he remained any longer in his present situation, his troops, he perceived, must either perish for want, or lay down their arms.

His mafterly retreat. THE Duke had hitherto been unfortunate in his enterprises, and his misfortunes had contributed to obscure his same; but, on this occasion, he gave a conspicuous proof of consummate military skill, as well as of the most unquestionable personal courage and resolution. His troops, drawn up in the most masterly manner, were every where so well prepared to receive the enemy, that the King, who attacked him with his cavalry, as soon as they began their march, sound it utterly impracticable to penetrate their ranks, whilst Mayenne himself marched on soot in the rear, sought on some

fome occasions as a common foldier, and by BOOK the gracefulness of his person, added to the fortitude which he displayed, commanded universal admiration. In this manner he advanced flowly, till he reached a narrow defile, where he had planted fome batteries of cannon; from the dread of which, the King ordered his troops to halt, and fuffered the Duke to purfue his march to La Fere without any farther moleftation with a pomer is drive some in what

former, and the own rectiff, had that

HENRY then refumed his operations before Laon furthe town. The belieged, though deprived of all hopes of relief, perfifted for some time in their defence; but at last, finding their numbers greatly diminished, they offered to furrender on condition that the garrison and the count of Somerive should be allowed to march out with the honours of war; and to this condition the King readily confented, from his defire of preventing bloodshed, and faving the fortifications of the town. The capitulation was figned on the twenty-fecond of July. The terms of it were religiously fulfilled; and Henry, far from discovering ill-humour or refentment for the opposition which he had met with, embraced with pleasure the present opportunity of testifying his esteem for the duke de Mayenne, by shewing particular marks of respect and kindness to his fon.

BOOK XXIII.

5594. Submiffion of the duke of Guife.

So much goodness, united with so much heroism and magnanimity, had charms in the eyes of Henry's enemies that were irreliftible The reduction of Laon, and his generous treatment of the inhabitants and garrison, were quickly followed by the voluntary furrender of Chateau-Thiery, Amiens, and Cambray. The duke of Lorrain, who from the beginning had given his affiftance to the League, chose now to be at peace with a prince, in whose favour fortune, and his own merits, had produced fo remarkable a revolution. And the duke of Guife, whom the Spaniards had tantalized with a glimple of royalty, but had afterwards neglected, moved partly by this confideration, and partly by his admiration of the King, entered into a treaty of reconciliation with him; and having delivered to him the towns of Rheims, Vitry, Rocroix, and feveral other places in Champaigne, he was rewarded by Henry with the government of Provence,

Siege of Groningen by prince Maurice. During the course of these events, so adverse to Philip's views in France, prince Maurice was engaged in the most important enterprise which he had hitherto undertaken, the siege of Groningen. That city, though almost

f D'Avila, lib. xiv. Thuanus, lib. ci. Meteren, lib. xiii. Bentivoglio, ann. 1594; Sully's Memoirs, lib. vi.

furrounded

furrounded with the territories of the States, had been preserved till now in its allegiance to Philip, by Verdugo, a Spanish officer of great abilities, with whose assistance the Catholic part of the inhabitants had been able to keep the Protestants under subjection. Jealous however of their liberty, they had never consented to admit any Spanish garrison within their walls, but three thousand of the citizens, trained to the use of arms, had been inlisted in the King's service for the desence of the town, while nine hundred of his foreign troops were permitted to take up their quarters in the suburbs.

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Maurice had long meditated the reduction of Groningen, not only because it would be of itself an acquisition of great value to the confederacy, but because it was the only place of consequence in those parts under the Spanish dominion, and furnished an easy entrance to the Spaniards into the northern provinces. Much pains had been taken, and great exertions made by Verdugo for its security. Many bloody rencounters had passed between him and the forces of the States, in which, from the smallness of his numbers, and not from the want either of bravery or conduct, he was generally unsuccessful; and Maurice, powerfully

BOOK XXIII. powerfully seconded in all his operations by his cousin count William of Nassau, had at length reduced Verdugo to the necessity of quitting the province, and had made himself master of almost every pass by which the citizens could receive assistance or supplies.

THEY had not neglected to inform the archduke of the imminent danger to which they were exposed. At their request, the emperor of Germany had transmitted to Philip a reprefentation, importing, that although they defired nothing fo much as to maintain their allegiance, and had preferved it long amidst much greater hardships and difficulties than any of his other fubjects had endured, yet if the army were not immediately fent to their affiftance, they would foon find it necessary to open their gates to the enemy. Philip, far from difregarding their application, made them the most gracious and flattering reply; and fent orders to the archduke to postpone every other object in the Netherlands to the relief of Groningen. But the greatest part of his forces were at this time engaged in the war in Picardy; and the remainder having mutinied against their officers, on account of their want of pay, refused to obey the governor's commands.

PRINCE

PRINCE Maurice therefore applied to the BOOK profecution of the fiege, with very little apprehension of meeting with any interruption from the Spaniards, although, agreeably to his usual cautious maxims, he fortified not only his quarters, but likewise the several passes which led to them from the fouthern provinces. By beginning to open his trenches at a distance from the town, the fiege was somewhat retarded, but he thereby prevented the loss of men which would otherwise have been sustained. On the third of June his batteries were unmasked, and foon afterwards all the outworks were laid in ruins. The besieged, alarmed with the rapidity of his progrefs, called the foreign troops, which were quartered in the suburbs, to their affiftance. The defence was conducted for feveral weeks with the highest spirit and intrepidity, and much blood was spilt. But Maurice having blown up a ravelin, which was one of the principal defences of the place, the courage of the inhabitants began to fail, and there was nothing to be heard but complaints of the ingratitude of the King, in thus abandoning to their enterprifing enemy a people so distinguished for their attachment and fidelity.

THEIR chief magistrate, Van Balen, who had long been fecretly averse to the Spanish government, improved with great dexterity the opportunity

BOOK XXIII.

tunity which their present temper afforded him. He studied to confirm them in their sentiments of the King's ingratitude: he represented to them the folly of flattering themselves with the hopes of relief from a prince, who was more intent upon conquering the dominions of others. than providing for the fecurity of his own. He painted in strong colours the miseries which they must suffer, if either the siege were to be prolonged, or the town to be taken by affault: and by expatiating on the advantages which would accrue to them from acceding to the union of Utrecht; he endeavoured to make them fensible, that if freedom from a foreign yoke was an object to be defired, it was infinitely more for their interest to submit to the generous enemy, who now befieged them, than even to be delivered from the fiege.

THESE exhortations made the defired impression even upon the minds of those who were most attached to the Catholic religion. That attachment had been long their only tie to the Spanish government; and it was overcome at this time by their indignation on account of Philip's negligence in providing for their defence, joined to their desire of participating of that civil liberty, which had proved the source of so much prosperity and happiness to the confederated provinces.

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A DEPUTATION of the principal inhabitants B OOK was fent to treat of a furrender; and the prince, without hesitation, granted them the most advantageous terms. The city of Groningen was declared to be henceforth a member of the union of Utrecht. All the exemptions and ancient privileges of the inhabitants were confirmed; the civil government of the place was allowed to remain on the same footing as before, and liberty of conscience was established, with this restriction, that no other religion but the reformed should be publicly exercised. The citizens, on the other hand, engaged to acknowledge the supreme authority of the States; to fubmit to the general laws of the union; to contribute their share of the public expences; and to admit fuch a garrison into the town as the States should judge necessary for its fecurity. The foreign foldiers were permitted to depart with their arms and baggage. The capitulation was figned on the 23d of July; and on the same day prince Maurice entered the town. He remained in it for some time till certain articles of the capitulation were executed, after which, having committed the government to his kinfman, count William of Nassau, he set out for the Hague s.

Meteren, lib. xvii. Bentivoglio, part iii. lib. i. . Grotius, lib. iii.

Vol. III.

WHILE

BOOK XXIII.

Mutiny of the Spanish and Italian soldiers.

WHILE Philip's power fuffered fo great a diminution in the northern provinces, his affairs in Brabant were daily more and more involved in diforder and confusion. The archduke had, with the utmost difficulty, raised money to fatisfy the Walloon and Spanish mutineers; but no fooner had these men returned to their duty, than the Italians, to whom the fame arrears were due, refolved to employ the fame means to effectuate their payment. of the officers concurred with the private men in forming this refolution, and they put it inflantly in execution, by feizing on the town of Sichen, where a part of their number had been They were joined by foldiers from stationed. all the garrisons in the neighbourhood, who continued flocking to them, till they amounted to two thousand horse and foot.

The mutineers protected by Maurice. Nor fatisfied with laying the country round the town under contribution, they spread themfelves over the province, made excursions to the very gates of Brussels, where the governor resided, and plundered the people with as much cruelty as if they had been engaged in open war. The governor having tried the power of persuasion without effect, resolved to employ force to reduce them; and for this purpose he sent the Spanish troops which he had lately pacified, under Lewis de Velasco, to besiege Sichen.

Sichen. In the beginning of this fedition, BOOK prince Maurice had made the mutineers an offer of shelter and protection in the tetritories of the States, and they readily agreed to accept this offer in case they should find it necessary; but informed him, that they would defend themselves in Sichen as long as they were able, against the Spaniards. They accordingly did fo, and made feveral desperate sallies, in which many on both fides were flain. Finding however that the place was too weak to be long defended against an enemy so much superior in number, they retired under the fortifications of Breda and San Gertrudenberg, where provisions were fold to them by the subjects of the States. The intention of Maurice in this fin- His motive. gular treatment of an enemy, was only to prolong the term of their disobedience. He made no attempt to perfuade them to enter into the service of the confederacy, but gave permission to the archduke to send an ambassador to treat with them; and when, after a tedious negociation, they had agreed to take up their quarters in Tirlemont, and to remain there till their demands were fatisfied, without renewing their hostilities, Maurice readily allowed them to depart. They required a Spanish nobleman to be given as a hostage for the fulfilment of the governor's promises; and so great was the diforder of the King's finances at this period,

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that these troops were suffered to remain inactive at Tirlemont for near a year before their arrears were paid ^a.

Death of Erneft;

Fuentes named governor.

Before the expiration of this term, the governor was feized with a hectic fever, of which he died on the twentieth of February, in the forty-fecond year of his age. He named the count of Fuentes for his fuccessor, and his choice was foon after ratified by the King. This nobleman having been fent into the Netherlands a little before the death of the duke of Parma, had, agreeably to Philip's instructions, during the government of count Mansvelde and the archduke, possessed a principal share in By his advice, or more the administration. properly by his authority, count Manfveldt had published a barbarous edict, commanding all prisoners to be put to death; and ordering the King's troops, who, in their excursions into the territories of the States, had been fatisfied for feveral years past with levying contributions, henceforth to lay waste the country with fire and fword.

THE States, in return, published a manifesto, in which they expressed their abhorrence of this

barbarity:

h Grotius, lib. iii. Meteren, lib. xvii. p. 581. Bentivoglio, part iii. lib. i.

barbarity; but at the same time declared, that BOOK if the governor did not recal his edict against a certain time, they would retaliate the cruelty which it prescribed upon the troops and subjects of the King. This measure had been urged by Fuentes, on the pretence of shortening the duration of the war, although the experience of his kinfman, the duke of Alva, might have convinced him, that, confidering the strength to which the confederacy had attained, it would ferve only to increase the calamities of the war, and to render it perpetual. Count Mansveldt came soon to be sensible, that these must be the consequences, and either revoked his edict, or gave orders to prevent it from being carried into execution.

FUENTES however still continued to exercise Discontent an unlimited influence in the government. The mish nobles. Flemish nobility complained bitterly, as in the time of cardinal Granvelle, of the infignificance to which they were reduced, and before the death of the archduke they had given some This difstriking proofs of their discontent. content was greatly heightened when the count was appointed governor; they faw then how little fincerity there had been in those foothing promises which the King had made them some years before, when they consented to the return of the foreign troops. They perceived S 3 how

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how little trust and considence he reposed in them, and were sensible at last of the truth of what the prince of Orange had so often told them, that, by their agreement with the duke of Parma, they would reduce their country to the miserable state of a province of Spain. The duke d'Arschot and count Charles of Mansveldt, who had reason to expect to have been preferred before Fuentes, would not submit to the indignity put upon them, but resigned their employments, and left the Netherlands. The duke d'Arschot died afterwards in Venice, and count Mansveldt in Hungary, where he commanded the emperor's army against the Turks.

Vigorous conduct of Fuentes.

FUENTES in the mean time entered upon the exercise of his office, and notwithstanding the prejudices which the Flemings seem justly to have entertained against him, he soon discovered that his abilities were not unequal to the charge with which he was invested. He applied with great success to quell the mutinous spirit of the army, and in a few months put it upon a much more respectable sooting, both as to discipline and numbers.

Declaration of war between France and Spain. PHILIP had greater occasion now than ever for abilities and vigour in the person to whom he committed the government of the Netherlands.

lands. The league in France was about to ex- B pire, notwithstanding his exertions to prevent it; and the French monarch, being firmly feated on his throne, declared war against him, prohibiting all commerce with his fubjects, and granting liberty to the French to invade and plunder, and take possession of whatever dominions belonged to the crown of Spain.

This measure was condemned by many, as Henry's being highly inexpedient at the present juncture, on account of the exhausted state to which his kingdom was reduced by the long continuance of the civil wars, and no person was more fensible of the strength of this objection than the king himfelf; but he believed that, in the present temper of the Catholic king, peace could not be obtained from him upon honourable terms. He was perfuaded, that war with the Spaniards must of necessity continue some time longer; and he thought, that as nothing would contribute more to extinguish the flames of civil discord than a foreign war, it would be easier to interest his Catholic subjects in the profecution of it, if it were regarded as a war between the crowns, to which political motives had given birth, than if it were suffered to remain on its present footing, and considered as carried on by Philip for the fake of religion. It is not indeed improbable, that personal ani-S 4 molity

1595.

BOOK mosity added force to these incitements. had ever treated Henry in the most contemptuous manner; and, under the mask of religion, had endeavoured first to exclude him, and afterwards to expel him from the throne. Henry detefted that artifice and duplicity in Philip's character, of which, in his late attempt to procure the abolition of the Salic law, he had given fuch incontestible evidence; and the terms in which his declaration of war was expressed, demonstrate, that resentment had, on the present occasion, a considerable influence on his conduct.

> PHILIP's answer to this declaration was perfectly conformable to his character. interferences in the affairs of France had proceeded, he faid, from his concern for the prosperity of the people, and the security of the Catholic faith; and he declared, that his intention now was not to enter into war with the crown or nation of France, but only to perfevere in protecting the true Catholics of that kingdom from the oppression of the prince of Bearn and his adherents 1.

Profecution of the war.

BOTH kings had been employed, before their declaration of war, in preparing for the recom-

D'Avila, lib. xiv.

mencement

mencement of hostilities; and Henry, besides BOOK his domestic preparations, had entered into a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive with the United Provinces. Agreeably to an article of this treaty, the States fent a body of horse and foot, under Philip, count of Nassau, to invade the province of Luxemburg. Their enterprises were for some time attended with success; but Fuentes, having dispatched the brave Verdugo with superior forces to oppose them, they were obliged, after several rencounters, to quit the province; and were foon after recalled. and stationed near the frontier of Brabant, where it was expected they, would be of equal fervice to the French monarch, by detaining the Spaniards in the Netherlands.

THE army of the States however, even after Siege of Ca-telet. it was joined by these troops, was not able to furnish full employment to those which the governor had prepared. He left an army under Mondragone to check the progress of prince Maurice, and fet out himfelf for Picardy with the rest of his forces. His first enterprise was the fiege of Catelet, of which he made himself master in a few weeks, though it was strongly fortified, and bravely defended by the garrison.

DURING this siege, Fuentes had reason to Affairs of flatter himself with the hopes of acquiring pos- and d'Orfession villiers.

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fession of the castle and town of Ham without bloodshed. The castle was held by an officer called d'Orvilliers, and the town by his halfbrother, whose name was Gomeron. two men had been violent partizans of the league, and the latter refolved to deliver the town to the Spaniards rather than to the king of France, but he demanded from Fuentes a reward of twenty thousand crowns for the town, and a still higher reward, if he should prevail upon his brother (which he engaged to do) to deliver up the castle. The count readily agreed to these terms, and paid him the twenty thousand crowns upon his admitting a thousand Spanish troops into the town; but required Gomeron himself and his two younger brothers to remain with him as hostages, till the castle likewise should be put into his posfession. To this Gomeron consented, from a fond persuasion that his brother would imitate his example, rather than expose bim and his other brothers to the refentment of the Spaniards, especially as their mother was in the castle, whose intreaties he expected d'Orvilliers would be unable to refift. But d'Orvilliers chose rather to abandon his brothers to their fate, than betray his charge to the enemies of his country; and he admitted the duke de Bouillon into the caftle, with a numerous body of the King's troops, who attacked the Spaniards

niards in the town, and either put them to the BOO'K fword or took them prisoners. The mother of Gomeron, now trembling with anxiety for her children's preservation, came to Fuentes, and represented, that d'Orvilliers repented of what he had done, and was willing to deliver the castle to him, if he would come himself with his army to receive it. The count, believing her representation to be true, the more readily as fhe herfelf feemed entirely convinced of the truth of it, advanced with his forces towards Ham; but finding that the mother had been deceived, and that, in order to avoid herimportunity, d'Orvilliers had left the place, and refigned his government to another, he was inflamed with rage, and put Gomeron to death in presence of the army. This unhappy man did not perhaps deserve so severe a punishment from the hands of Fuentes; but it was due to the treachery and egregious folly into which his avarice had betrayed him k.

FROM Ham the count conducted his troops, Siege of after they had rested some days, to lay siege to Dourlens. This town being near the frontier of the Netherlands, was strongly fortified and garrifoned by a confiderable number of felect troops. Still however it was necessary, in or-

Bentivoglio, part iii. lib. ii.

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der to prevent it from falling into the enemy's hands, that the garrison should be augmented: and no fooner had the marshals Bouillon and Villars, whom the King had fent to watch the motions of the Spanish army, heard that Dourlens was invested, than they affembled all the troops in the neighbourhood, amounting to a thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, and advanced towards the town, in hopes of being able to force their way through the enemy's entrenchments; but Fuentes having received intelligence of their defign, left a part of his forces to guard his trenches, and marched out with the rest, in order of battle, to an advantageous fituation at a little distance from the When the duke of Bouillon observed Fuentes fo well prepared for his defence, he counselled marshal Villars to retire; but that intrepid general, whose courage was ever too ardent and impetuous, refused to comply, and still continued to advance, till his troops were almost furrounded by the Spaniards. A defperate and bloody battle enfued; in which, from their great inferiority in respect of number, the French were almost entirely cut to pieces, Villars himself was slain, and the cavalry, after great lofs, were obliged to retire.

During the combat, the garrison fallied out upon the troops which had been left to defend the

the camp and trenches; but through the wife BOOK precaution which had been taken, the Spaniards proved victorious; and Fuentes refumed, with fresh spirit and vigour, the operations of the fiege. Among the befieged there were more than three hundred gentlemen, who inspired the garrison with the same generous spirit by which they themselves were actuated, and defended the town feveral days with extraordinary courage and resolution. But their skill and conduct were not equal to the bravery which they displayed. In an affault on the thirty-first of July they were overpowered by the affailants, and almost the whole garrison, amounting to more than a thousand men, with their governor the count of Dinan, were put to the fword.

1595.

FUENTES, emboldened by his fuccess, resolved Siege of next to lay siege to Cambray; the reduction of which was the principal object of his prefent expedition.

This important city had been wrested from the Spaniards, as is above related, by the duke of Anjou; and Anjou had bequeathed it to his mother Catherine of Medicis, by whom a French gentleman of the name of Balagny had been appointed governor both of the town and Balagny, taking advantage of the troubles

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troubles in France, had for feveral years acknowledged no fuperior; and as he had fludied to maintain some degree of neutrality between the contending parties, he had been fuffered to act as fovereign both of the city and its territory. But apprehending, after the discomfiture of the League, that it was necessary for him to make a choice either of the king of France or Spain for his protector, he agreed to acknowledge his dependance on the French monarch, on condition, that he should be permitted to enjoy under him possession of the fovereignty, with the title of the prince of Cambray; and to these terms Henry the more readily confented, as he dreaded, that if he rejected them, they would be granted by the king of Spain.

BALAGNY, being thus confirmed in his poffession, spared no expence or pains in strengthening the fortifications of the place. The garrison amounted to three thousand foot and six hundred horse, the greatest part of which were French troops of the most unquestionable bravery. The town was strong, and it was well surnished with military stores and provisions.

DETERMINED by these considerations, some of the principal officers in the Spanish army endea-

endeavoured to persuade the count de Fuentes BOOK to relinquish his defign, by representing, that before he could accomplish it, either the winter feafon would overtake him, or the French monarch, being disengaged from his enemies in other quarters, would arrive with a superior army, and attack him after his troops were diminishing in number, and exhausted with the operations of the fiege; but Fuentes, ambitious to diftinguish his administration by so important an acquisition, and elated by the fuccess with which his enterprises had been hitherto attended, refused to listen to these remonstrances; and, having received a great augmentation of forces from the neighbouring provinces, he began his operations without de-They were carried on with a degree of skill and vigour which would have reflected honour on the greatest generals of the age; and notwithstanding the most intrepid defence, conducted with much prudence by the celebrated de Vic, whom Henry had fent with a reinforcement of troops to the affiftance of the befieged, the count opened his batteries in a few weeks fo near the town, that fome of its principal defences were destroyed, and a great part of the wall was laid in ruins. Still however his fuccess was doubtful. He encountered the most discouraging difficulties in furnishing his troops with provisions; and nothing but

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the most unconquerable resolution, added to the dread of tarnishing the glory which he had already acquired, could have prevented him from abandoning his attempt.

Cambray given up by the citizens.

But he was faved from that mortification. by the inhabitants of the town, who having been long accustomed to the mild administration of their archbishops, had borne with extreme impatience the haughty imperious behaviour of Balagny; and had been almost reduced to despair, by the extortion, rapine, and insolence of his wife, by whom he suffered himfelf to be entirely governed. The citizens had fecretly fent a deputation of their number to the French monarch, intreating him to deliver them from the yoke of their oppressor, and offering on that condition to submit to his authority, and to receive a garrison of his troops. But through the influence of the famous Gabrielle d'Etrées, whom Balagny had gained over to his interest, Henry not only refused to comply with their request, but confirmed Balagny in his usurped authority.

THE inhabitants, inflamed now with refentment against the King, as well as against Balagny, resolved to embrace the first opportunity of putting themselves under the dominion of their former master the king of Spain; and

they were confirmed in their resolution, by the BOOK numerous ecclefiaftics in the town, who hoped by this measure to effectuate the re-establishment of the archbishop, whom Balagny had expelled. Having formed their plan, they delayed the execution of it, till Balagny and De Vic were wholly occupied in taking meafures against an affault, which they believed to be intended by the Spaniards. At that time they ran to arms, and made themselves masters of one of the gates of the city. De Vic, Balagny, and his wife, spared no pains to divest them from their purpose, but all their endeavours proved ineffectual. Two of the principal citizens were immediately fent to Fuentes, with an offer to furrender the town on the following conditions, to which he readily agreed: That the foldiers should be restrained from plunder: That all past offences should be forgiven: That the citizens should enjoy their wonted privileges, and the archbishop be restored to

THE garrison immediately retired into the citadel, where they expected to have been able to defend themselves for a considerable time. But having found, upon fearthing the magazines, that there was hardly provisions enough to support them for three days, they agreed on the first summons to capitulate. The wife of Balagny Vol. III.

his ancient jurisdiction and authority.

B O O K XXIII. Balagny had reduced them to this necessity, by selling, at an exorbitant price, without her husband's knowledge, the provisions which had been laid up in store.

During the fiege, this woman had discovered a degree of spirit, capacity, and courage, above her sex; but being unable to bear the consciousness of that egregious folly into which her avarice had betrayed her, and which was now attended with consequences so fatal to her ambition, she was overwhelmed with anguish and despair; and refusing to take either medicine or food, she died miserably, before the citadel was delivered to the Spaniards.

THE capitulation was figned on the feventh of October, and the garrison marched out with all the honours of war upon the ninth; immediately after which, Fuentes having stationed five hundred Spaniards in the citadel, and two thousand Germans in the town, set out for the Netherlands with the rest of his forces, and put them into winter-quarters in Flanders, Artois, and Hainault.

Affairs in Burgundy.

THE reader will not suppose that the active spirit of the French monarch could be unemployed

D'Avila, lib. xv. Bentivoglio, part iii. lib. ii.

during

during the course of these disastrous events. BOOK He was deeply affected by the loss of the important towns which had been conquered by Fuentes, and would have marched in person to their relief, had he not believed that his prefence was still more necessary in another part of his dominions. For Philip having refolved to profecute the war with vigour in different quarters at the same time, had ordered Velasco, the constable of Castile and governor of Milan, to lead an army of ten thousand men into Burgundy; and these troops were, upon their arrival in Franche Compté, joined by the duke de Mayenne with a thousand foot and four hundred horse. This army was greatly superior to any which marshal Biron, who commanded in these parts, could affemble to oppose it; and Henry dreaded that the province of Burgundy would be fpeedily over-run. Having therefore fent orders to his troops in different parts to follow him, he fet out himfelf at the head of one thousand eight hundred horse and foot, with an intention to harass the enemy, till the rest of his army should arrive.

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THE Spaniards had passed the Saone, and Battle of advanced as far as Fontaine-Françoise, when Françoise. Henry attacked them on their march, with a degree of impetuolity and ardor that filled Velasco with astonishment. The King was bravely

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fupported

B O O K XXIII. fupported on this occasion by the marquis de Mirebeau, the count de Gramont, and several others of his nobility; but above all, by the intrepid Biron, who sought long after he was covered with the blood that slowed from a wound which he had received in the beginning of the engagement. The King, by his exhortations, and still more by his example, inslamed his troops to a degree of madness. At the head of his squadrons, he plunged sword in hand into the midst of the enemy, broke through their ranks, and threw their van into consussion.

HAD Velasco ordered his whole army to advance, it is impossible but Henry must have been furrounded and overpowered. But his courage on this occasion supplied the want both of caution and of numbers. Velasco, intimidated by the unexampled boldness which he had feen displayed, gave orders for a retreat, and left the King in possession of the field of Early next morning he repassed the notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of the duke de Mayenne, who had procured certain intelligence of the strength of the enemy. Mayenne then intreated Velasco to leave him a part of the forces to raise the fiege of Dijon, which had been invested by a party of the royalists, and to enable him to defend fend fuch other towns on this fide of the river BOOK as were still in his possession. But this likewife the Spanish general refused, and continued to retire till he reached the town of Gray: where he fortified his camp in the strongest manner, with a refolution to act only on the defensive, in case the royal army should advance.

VELASCO, who was utterly unpractifed in the Reconcilemilitary art, appears to have been strongly ac- Mayenne tuated with a dread of the superior skill and King. bravery of the King. But the duke de Mayenne likewise perceived, in his conduct towards bim, on this occasion, manifest symptoms of diffidence and diffrust. This the Duke could not help attributing to Velasco's instructions from the court of Spain; and he could not doubt, that through the ill offices of the Spanish ministers in France, Philip had conceived fome fresh jealousy of his designs. He was therefore thrown into great perplexity, while he believed that he should ere long be abandoned by the Spaniards, as he had already been by most of his adherents in France; and could hardly suppose that now, when his power was reduced fo low, he would be able to obtain advantageous conditions from the King. After long deliberation, he formed the refolution of going to Madrid, to justify his con-T 3

1595.

BOOK duct to Philip against the misrepresentations of his ministers. But he was saved from that fatal step, by the invincible goodness of the French monarch, who, having been informed of his diffress, fent Lignerac, a friend and confident of the Duke, to affure him of his efteem, and to inform him, that he was still ready to receive him into favour, and to grant him the most honourable terms.

> HENRY did not require an immediate, submission from him, because the Duke had often declared, that he would never acknowledge his authority till the Pope should grant him absolution; but he defired that he should retire to Chalons, one of his own towns, and wait there for that event, in full confidence that no advantage should be taken in the mean time, either of himself or his adherents.

> MAYENNE, who knew with how much fafety he might rely on Henry's promise, and was deeply penetrated with a Tenfe of the generous offer which had been made to him, accepted of it without hesitation, and left the Spanish camp.

Soon after this agreement, Henry advanced to the banks of the Saone, with a resolution to transport his forces, consisting of seven thoufand foot and two thousand horse, into Franche Compté,

Compté, where Velasco lay intrenched. In B OOK fpite of the troops which had been planted to dispute his passage, he forded the river about three miles below the town of Gray, and then led his army towards the enemy; but finding their intrenchments too strongly fortified to be attacked with any probability of success, he turned aside, and began to lay waste the country, or to levy contributions from the inhabitants. Velasco remained still within his camp. At length the Swiss Cantons, as friends and protectors of the people of Franche Compté, interposed their influence. At their desire, the King readily defifted from his depredations; and having led back his troops into his own dominions, he refolved to march as foon as possible, to the frontiers of the Netherlands.

HE was in daily expectation, at this time, The pope of receiving the Pope's absolution, which had Henry abbeen much longer delayed than he expected, through the violent opposition of the Spanish ministers at Rome; but Clement, now perceiving that Henry was firmly established on the throne, and dreading that by a longer delay he might exhauft his patience, and provoke him to throw off his allegiance to the Holy See, resolved to run the risk of giving offence to Philip, and on the 16th of September pronounced the fentence of absolution. This

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event

BOOK XXIII. event gave inexpressible joy to all the true Catholics of France; and the treaty of agreement, which had been begun with the duke de Mayenne, was soon after brought to the desired conclusion. Such other members of the League as had not already submitted, imitated the example of their leader. Internal peace was every where established, and Henry had leifure to apply his whole attention to the Spanish war.

Affairs of the NetherTHE transactions in the Netherlands this year were less important and interesting than in any former campaign since the commencement of the war, which was principally owing to the governor's prudent choice of the vigilant, experienced Mondragone, as commander in chief of the forces during his absence. About the middle of July, prince Maurice besieged the town of Groll; but Mondragone, having augmented his army, by making draughts from the garrisons of the neighbouring towns, advanced towards him with so much celerity, that not having had time to complete his entrenchments, Maurice was obliged to raise the siege. The two armies lay long in fight of

D'Avila, lib. xiv. Thuanus, anno 1595. Perefixe Elzevir, p. 230, &c.

each other; and as they were nearly equal in BOOK frength, and both generals exerted an equal degree of vigilance and circumspection, they effectually prevented one another from undertaking any important enterprise.

1595

THERE were frequent skirmishes with various fuccess; but the only one which deserves to be mentioned was a rencounter near the river Lippe, where Maurice ordered count Philip de Naffau, with five hundred horse, to lie in ambush in a wood, to intercept a party of the enemy which had been fent out for provisions. Of this Mondragone had received intelligence, and with great fecrecy stationed a body of horse still more numerous in another wood, at a little distance from the first. When the Spanish foragers arrived at the ambuscade, they were attacked on every fide, and repulfed with confiderable flaughter; but being speedily reinforced by their friends in the neighbouring woods, they returned to the charge. The Dutch troops, aftonished to find themselves caught in their own fnare, were at last overpowered by numbers; three hundred of them, with their commander, were killed, and the rest obliged to fave themselves by flight.

This was the last memorable event of the Death of campaign, although the two generals remained Mondra-

BOOK XXIII.

in fight of each other till the end of October, when they broke up their camps, and put their troops into winter-quarters; and Mondragone died not long after at the age of ninety-two, having to the last preserved sufficient vigour to sulfil, with distinguished reputation, all the duties of a commander. He had served in the Netherlands near sifty years, and had a principal share in almost every military enterprise, yet he had the singular fortune to escape without a wound.

" Grotius, lib. iv. Bentivoglio, part iii. lib. ii.

During the course of the transactions recorded in this book, the Dutch performed their sirst expedition to India; but as their acquisitions at this time were inconsiderable, and their most important conquests over Philip's subjects in that distant region were not atchieved till several years after the present period, I have reserved the relation of the whole for the history of the subsequent reign.

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND. KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK XXIV.

ROM the capacity and vigour of which BOOK the count de Fuentes had given fo many proofs fince his accession to the government, The archthere was reason to expect, that he would have duke Albert been fuffered long to retain possession of it; she Nether-lands. but Philip, having from the beginning intended that he should continue governor only for one year, had immediately after the death of Ernest fixed upon the cardinal archduke Albert for his fucceffor.

THIS prince, nephew to Philip, and youngest brother to the Emperor, had been intrusted with the regency of Portugal. By his prudent administration he had acquired universal esteem;

and Philip, who entertained the highest opinion of his abilities, believed that no person was better qualified either to prosecute the war with vigour, or by an accommodation to bring it to the desired conclusion.

He arrived at Brussels about the middle of February, one thousand five hundred and ninety-fix, having brought with him a reinforcement of Italian and Spanish troops, and which was of still greater utility, a sum of money, amounting to fifteen hundred thousand crowns.

THE

2 Albert likewise brought with him, at this time, Philip, eldest son of the late prince of Orange, who, as above related, had been seized by the duke of Alva, and sent to Spain, where he had been educated in the Catholic religion, and detained for almost thirty years. By setting him at liberty on this occasion it is not improbable that the court of Spain expected to have created some division between the prince, and his brother Maurice, that might have proved prejudicial to the United Provinces. But Maurice readily yielded to him all that he poffessed of their father's fortune; and the States, perceiving that the Archduke, besides restoring to him his lands in Brabant and Burgundy, treated him with much esteem and confidence, refused to grant him permission to fix his residence within their territories, or even to visit his kinsmen there, till the year 1608, a short time before the conclusion of the truce with Spain.

He married Eleanor of Bourbon, a daughter of the prince of Condé; by the interest of whose friends, he recovered possession of his principality of Orange, in the kingdom of France. He lived on amicable terms with his relations in

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THE count de Fuentes, unwilling to act in a BOOK subordinate station, in a country where he had enjoyed the chief command, refigned the government to the archduke, and fet out for Spain.

ALBERT immediately applied himself to make Siege of La the preparations necessary for a new campaign; and conformably to his instructions from Philip, he turned his principal attention to the war with France. His first object was the relief of La Fere in Picardy, which had remained in the hands of the Spanish ever since it was delivered by the League to the duke of Parma.

Towards the end of the preceding year, it had been invested by the French monarch; but as it was ftrongly fortified, and the garrison confifted of chosen troops, commanded by Alvaro Oforio, a Spanish officer of distinguished reputation, Henry was fatisfied with blocking it up so as to prevent the entrance of supplies. This he accomplished with little difficulty. The blockade had lasted for several weeks, and Osorio had conveyed intelligence to the archduke, that if he was not speedily relieved, the

the Netherlands, but being fincere in his profession of the Catholic religion, he feems not to have entertained any refentment for the injurious treatment he had received from the king of Spain: nor does he appear to have possessed any share of that bold and enterprising genius, by which his brothers were fo eminently diffinguished. He died without iffue at Bruffels, in the year 1618. Du Maurier.

want

1596.

BOOK want of provisions would render it impossible for him to hold out for any confiderable time. The Spanish army was affembled at Valenciennes, and almost ready to begin its march: but the more the governor and his council of war reflected on the difficulties which must attend the attempting to raise the siege, by marching directly to La Fere, the more infurmountable they appeared. For they could not, it was observed, approach to that town, without leaving behind them St. Quintin, Ham, Guise, Peronne, and several other fortified places, the garrifons of which would harafs them on their march, break up the roads, and intercept their convoys of provisions. An impassable marsh rendered the town inaccessible on every fide, except where the French monarch had strongly fortified his intrenchments. Even if they should come in fight of the town, yet, before they could enter it, they must either attack the enemy within their camp, or engage with their whole army in the open field. They could not attack them in their camp, without exposing themselves to almost certain ruin; Henry would not give them an opportunity of fighting in the field, unless his army, which was increasing daily, were superior to theirs, and the consequences of a defeat would prove fatal not only to the army, but to all the Spanish conquests in France, and perhaps too to the King's authority in the Netherlands.

DETER-

PHILIP II. KING OF SPAIN.

DETERMINED by these considerations, the BOO XXIV. archduke formed the refolution of belieging fome other frontier town of sufficient importance to induce Henry either to raise the siege of La Fere, or compensate for the loss of that place, in case it should be obliged to capitulate.

HE helitated for some time whether he should siege of lead his army against St. Quintin or Peronne; but he foon laid aside the thoughts of attacking either of these places, and resolved to undertake the reduction of Calais, which he believed would be an easier, as well as a much more important acquisition.

This enterprise was suggested to the governor by the Sieur de Rône, a native of France, and formerly a violent partifan of the League, who had entered into the fervice of Spain against his King and country. He was a man of a dark intriguing spirit, whom no tie could bind but interest; but he was bold and active, sagacious and penetrating, and eminently diftinguished for his skill in the art of war. He had received intelligence that Calais, like many other towns in the kingdom, had been much neglected during the civil war; that although the King had ordered the fortifications of it to be examined, yet his other occupations had not allowed

lowed him to bestow that attention on it which its importance deserved; and that, as some of the works were ruinous, so the garrison was too small to desend a place of so great extent. For these reasons, the governor approved highly of De Rône's proposal, and he committed the execution of it to himself.

In order to prevent the enemy from fuspecting what was intended, it was communicated only to two or three of the principal officers; and the archduke gave out that his defign was to relieve La Fere. He accordingly began his march towards that place, while De Rône turned fuddenly to Calais with a body of felect troops, and attacked the fort and bridge of Nieulai, which commands the entrance to the town by land. He made himself master of it with very little difficulty, and then proceeded to attack the fort of Risbane, which stands at the mouth of the harbour, and was of the greatest importance for the preservation of the place. The garrison of this fort made a more vigorous refistance than that of Nieulai ; but no sooner had De Rône opened a battery against them, by which only a few were killed, than they were feized with a sudden panic, and offered to ca-This rapid progress exceeded De Rône's most fanguine expectations, and it gave him the greater joy, as not long after the Rifbane

bane had furrendered, fome thips with troops BOOK for the reinforcement of the garrison, which had arrived from Boulogne, finding the entrance to the harbour in his possession, were obliged to return.

THE archduke, who was in the neighbourhood of Valenciennes, when he received intelligence of this fortunate commencement of his enterprise, set out immediately with his whole army for Calais, and pitched his camp in fuch a fituation as he hoped would prevent the approach of the enemy.

He first attacked the suburbs, and took them by affault; nor did he encounter greater difficulty in making himself master of the town. His cannon had hardly begun to play upon it, when Vidoffan, the governor, retired with the garrison into the castle; and quickly despairing of being able to defend himfelf in it, any better than he had done in the town, he offered to give it up in fix days, if he was not relieved before the expiration of that time. The archduke, in order to fave his troops and the fortifications of the place, readily agreed to this propofal, never doubting that he was fully able to prevent the entrance of any reinforcement either by fea or land. on Lat Tongra

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THE King, in the mean time, heard with much anxiety of the progress of the Spanish arms. But the blockade of La Fere having continued for feveral months, he expected that the garrison must be reduced in a few days to the necessity of capitulating; and he thought it probable, that after finishing his present enterprise (which he could not abandon without losing all the expence and labour which he had bestowed upon it), he would arrive in time to raise the siege of Calais. He went himself however with a part of his cavalry to Boulogne, that he might be ready to administer such assistance to the garrison of Calais, as might enable them to hold out till his whole army should be at liberty to advance to their relief.

Henry attempts in vain to raife the fiege. Upon his arrival in Boulogne, he was informed of the capitulation above mentioned. He lamented bitterly that he had not brought with him a greater proportion of his troops; but finding it necessary to make some exertion without delay, he prevailed on Campagnol, the governor of Boulogne, with three hundred chosen men, to attempt to force his way in the night through the Spanish lines.

This arduous undertaking was executed without the loss of a fingle man; and Campagnol had no sooner arrived in the castle,

than having read the King's orders to the garrifon, he required them all to swear that they would defend the fortress to the last.

BOOR XXIV.

In the evening of the fixth day of the truce, they were summoned to sulfil their engagement; when they replied that they had received the reinforcement which they expected. But it soon appeared how unequal they were to the defence of so weak a place, against so numerous an enemy.

EARLY next morning De Rône began to play off his batteries, and in a few hours a great part of the wall was laid in ruins.

An Italian regiment, through whose negligence Campagnol had got into the fort, was ordered to advance to the assault, and was sollowed by the Walloons and Spaniards. The garrison received them in the breach with undaunted courage, and, after an obstinate engagement, in which great numbers sell on both sides, compelled them to retire. But the Italians returned immediately to the charge; and at last, through the great superiority of their numbers, they overpowered the garrison, entered along with them into the fort, and put all of them to the sword, except Campagnol, and a sew others, who took refuge in the church,

Calaistaken by storm.

and afterwards furrendered at discretion. In this manner did Calais fall into the hands of the Spaniards in less than three weeks after De Rône had begun the siege. The King lest Boulogne, after having taken precautions for the preservation of that place, and returned to La Fere. And the archduke, after staying eight or ten days in Calais to repair the fortifications, led his troops against the town of Ardres.

Siege of

THE garrison of Ardres consisted of two thousand five hundred men, commanded by the marquis of Belin, the lieutenant-governor of the province, and by the fieur de Annebourg, governor of the town, an officer of diftinguished courage and capacity. By frequent vigorous fallies, the operations of the befieged were greatly retarded. At length however they took the suburbs by affault, and De Rône began to batter the walls of the town. But confidering the strength of the place, and the number and bravery of the garrison, he had little reason to hope for success before the conclusion of the siege of La Fere; when there was no room to doubt that the King would advance without loss of time to the relief of Ardres.

Notwithstanding this encouraging circumstance, the marquis de Belin called a council

cil of war, and urged with great earnestness BOOK the necessity of capitulating; alleging that it was impossible to hold out till the King's arrival, and that the fooner they fubmitted, they would the more eafily obtain advantageous terms. This proposal was rejected with great difdain by the fieur de Annebourg, and all the officers in the council. But the cowardly Belin, availing himfelf of that superior authority with which he was invested as lieutenant-governor of the province, capitulated, notwithstanding their remonstrances, on a condition to which the archduke readily agreed, that the garrison should march out with the honours of war. La Fere having furrendered on the day immediately preceding, the King had already fet out for Ardres, and as his army had of late received a confiderable augmentation, he entertained the most fanguine hopes of being able to raise the siege. When a messenger informed him of the furrender, he was inflamed with indignation, and ordered Belin to be tried for his life. At the importunity of his friends, he afterwards stopped the profecution; but he banished him from court, and deprived him of his office of lieutenant-governor of the province b.

b D'Avila, lib. xv. Bentivoglio, &c. Thuanus, p. 116. lib. viii.

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HENRY

XXIV. 1596. Albert returns to the Netherlands.

BOOK HENRY was now in fome perplexity with respect to his future conduct. He was extremely folicitous to recover as foon as possible the towns which he had loft; but as his finances were in great disorder at that time, and Picardy having been long the feat of war, was reduced to the most exhausted condition, he perceived that any enterprise fo tedious as the fiege of a fortified town, must be attended with infurmountable difficulties. He resolved therefore, in conformity to the opinion of his nobility, to advance towards the enemy, and to compel them, if possible, to give him battle. But the archduke, whose army was greatly diminished by putting garrisons into the conquered towns, had penetrated into his defign; and being no less averse to an engagement than Henry was desirous of it, he left France without delay, and put his troops into quarters of cantonment in the province of Artois. The King being thus disappointed in his hopes of a decifive action, difmissed the greater part of his army, and leaving the marshal Biron with only five or fix thousand men to check the excursions of the Spanish garrisons, he returned to Paris, where a great number of important affairs of state required his attention.

He befieges Hulft in Flanders.

WHILE the Spanish army was employed in profecuting the war in France, no memorable event

event had happened in the Netherlands. This BOOK was not owing to any want of activity and vigour on the part of prince Maurice, but to the extreme weakness of his army, which the States, from a desire of saving their strength when they were not exposed to immediate danger, had reduced fo low, that when all the garrifons were full, he could not lead into the field more than three thousand men. With the affiftance of this little army, the garrifons of some of the frontier towns had made several bold incursions into Flanders and Brabant, and either plundered the country, or laid the inhabitants under contributions. The States of these provinces had ardently wished for the return of the archduke; and they now intreated him to employ his arms in reducing fome of the places in their neighbourhood, from which they received fo great annoyance. Albert, who did not intend, by returning fo early to the Netherlands, to pass the remainder of the feafon without action, readily complied with their request; and, after deliberating with his council of war, undertook the fiege of Hulft in Flanders.

MAURICE had, fince his conquest of that place about five years before, made great additions to its fortifications. He had likewise formed the territory on which it stands into an U 4 island,

island, by means of two large canals which were drawn around it; and, by building forts on these canals, and laying a part of the adjacent country under water, he had rendered the town almost inaccessible.

THIS at least was the opinion of some officers whom Albert had fent to reconnoitre it; but being ambitious to distinguish the first year of his administration, by performing some important fervice to the people committed to his care, and being excited at the fame time by De Rône and other adventurous spirits, whom no difficulties could deter from any enterprife, he perfifted in his defign, and proceeded immediately to put it in execution. In order to conceal it as long as possible from the enemy, he made a feint of attacking fome of the towns in Brabant, and this measure was attended with the Of five thousand men who were desired effect. in garrison at Hulft, prince Maurice ordered two thousand to reinforce the garrisons of Gertrudenberg and Breda.

ALBERT immediately after turned suddenly towards Hulst, and having prepared a great number of small boats, he ordered two of his principal officers, de la Biche and la Barlotta, to transport a part of his forces across the in-undation and canals. These men executed their

their commission with great secrecy and silence Box in the dead of the night, and encountered difficulties which required the most determined resolution to surmount. The tide did not rise so high as they expected, and they were often obliged to leave their boats, and push them forwards, while they stood up to their knees in mud. When, after much labour and difficulty, they had brought them to the fide of the canal, they were discovered by the garrisons of some forts which had been built to obstruct their approach; but, notwithstanding the incessant fire of these forts, they still continued to advance; and having launched their boats in the canal, they at last arrived on the other fide, with the loss of only a small number of men. Early next morning count Solmes, the governor of Hulft, attacked them before they had time to entrench themselves. A bloody combat enfued, in which one regiment of the affailants was routed, and their commander But the rest resecting on their desperate situation, from which it is impossible to escape, advanced with irresistible impetuosity, and, after much bloodshed, compelled the garrison to take shelter in the town.

PRINCE Maurice no fooner heard of what had happened, than he fet out with all the forces which he' could collect, hoping to be able

able to drive the Spaniards from the island. before their number was increased. But the archduke advanced with greater expedition, and prevented his approach. It was ftill practicable for Maurice to transport his forces to Hulft, by the canal which falls into the Hondt or Wester Scheld. But before he could reach the island in that way, Albert had transported his whole army, and begun the operations of the fiege. The only expedient which Maurice could now employ, was to introduce supplies into the town by the canal, the mouth of which was commanded by a strong fort, which he hoped the enemy would find impregnable. For this purpose he fixed his residence at Cruning in Zealand; and from that place, troops were frequently conveyed to the affiftance of the belieged, notwithstanding the most strenuous endeavours of the Spanish army to intercept them.

THE siege and the desence were conducted with equal vigour, and the combatants on both sides gave innumerable proofs of the most heroic courage. The garrison sallied out almost every day, and made dreadful havoc among the Spaniards. De Rône, to whom the chief conduct of the siege had been committed, was killed; and by this irreparable loss the assailants were greatly dismayed. The archduke, however,

nowever, perfifted in this enterprise; and al- BOOK though he had loft a much greater number of his troops than in both the fieges of Calais and Ardres, he continued his operations with unremitted ardour, till, befides demolishing all the outworks of the place, he had made a breach in the wall fufficient to admit of an affault.

of the Netherlands under perpetual

THE garrifon had thrown up a deep entrench- Hulft given ment within the breach, and as they were still spaniards. as numerous as ever, through the feafonable fupplies which prince Maurice from time to time had fent them, they had little reason for despair. But being seized with a sudden panic, they urged count Solmes, the governor, with the most earnest importunity, to capitulate; and the count, dreading that, in the present temper of their minds, they would probably deliver the town without his confent, complied with their 18th Aug. request.

ALBERT staid no longer in Hulft than was Victory of necessary to give orders for repairing the forti- Artois. fications; after which he returned to Bruffels, amidst the joyful acclamations of the people; who flattered themselves with hopes, that, under the government of a prince fo successful in all his enterprises, an entire stop would foon be put to the incursions of the enemy, and internal security restored. But their joy on this account

account was of short duration. Marshal Biron. whom the French monarch had left behind him in Picardy, with a body of felect troops, had hitherto been fatisfied with acting on the defensive; but soon after the surrender of Hulft. he began to make incursions into the province of Artois, and kept all the fouthern frontier of the Netherlands under perpetual alarms. The archduke fent the marquis of Varambon to oppose him; and Varambon for some time obliged him to act with greater caution and circumspection than he had hitherto observed. But Biron having received intelligence that the marquis was on his march to offer battle, he advanced rapidly to meet him; and, having placed the greater part of his troops in an ambush, he proceeded with the rest till he had reached the enemy. A fierce rencounter enfued; and Biron continued fighting and retreating, till he arrived at the place where his troops were posted. He then returned to the charge with his whole forces united; and having taken Varambon prisoner, he put many of his troops to the fword, and compelled the reft to fave themselves by flight k.

THE prince of Chimai, now duke D'Arfchot, was appointed to succeed Varambon;

Bentivoglio, lib. iii. Grotius,

and his endeavours to reprefs the incursions of B 0 0 E the enemy were attended with no better fuccess than those of his predecessor. Biron triumphed over him through the superiority of his cavalry, and continued to exercise his depredations in the open parts of the country, till the approach of winter obliged him to retire.

During the course of these transactions in Expedition of the Engthe Netherlands and France, Philip sustained a lish against calamity in Spain, which more than counter- Spain. balanced any advantage that could be expected from his late acquisitions. Almost every seal fon fince the discomfiture of his Armada in one thousand five hundred and eighty-eight, the English had undertaken some naval enterprise against his dominions in Europe or in America. The affairs of the Netherlands and France had not hitherto left him leifure to take revenge for these insults; nor was his leisure greater at the present period, than it had been for fome years past; but his patience was exhaufted; and his acquisition of a fea-port, fo commodiously situated as Calais, gave him a facility of annoying his enemy, which he had not possessed before. He resolved, notwithflanding his present embarrassments, to improve the advantage which this circumstance presented, and having begun to prepare a naval and military force, he intended to make a defcent

fcent in Ireland; where he had long fomented the rebellious spirit of the Catholic inhabitants, and had reason to believe that they would join his troops as soon as they should land.

Earl of Effex commander in chief. ELIZABETH was aware of the impending danger, and determined, if possible, to dissipate the storm before it should approach. For this purpose she sitted out a sleet of more than a hundred and sifty ships, having about eight thousand soldiers and seven thousand mariners on board, and gave the command of the land forces to the earl of Essex, and that of the navy to lord Howard of Essingham. To this sleet the Dutch added twenty-four ships, with a proportional number of troops, under the command of Wardmont, vice-admiral of Holland, and count Lewis of Nassau, cousin to prince Maurice.

With this powerful armament, Elizabeth intended to make an attack on Cadiz, where Philip's naval preparations were principally carried on. But its destination was carefully concealed. Sealed instructions were delivered to the several commanders, not to be opened till they should arrive at Cape St. Vincent's; and they were ordered, in their way thither, to keep at a distance from the coasts of Spain and Portugal,

sugal, in order to prevent a discovery of their BOO design.

THESE precautions ferved effectually the purpose which was intended. The whole fleet arrived on the twentieth of June within fight of Cadiz, and found the Spaniards entirely unprepared for their defence. There was in the bay and harbour, besides thirty-six merchant ships richly laden, and ready to fail for America and the Indies, a fleet of about thirty ships of war, and a great number of transports loaded with naval stores, designed for the equipment of another fleet, which Philip was then fitting out at Lisbon. But there was no person in the place invested with the chief command, and no garrifon in it sufficient for its defence.

THE Spanish men of war, however, were Cadiz fackquickly drawn up in the mouth of the bay, and dered by the they fustained the attack of an enemy fo much English. fuperior to them, for feveral hours, till some of their largest ships were taken, others burnt, and the rest driven aground on the stats and shallows.

IMMEDIATELY after this fuccess, the earl of Effex landed his troops, and led them towards the town. A body of Spanish forces marched out to meet him; but being unable to withstand

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ftand the impetuolity of the English, they soon turned their backs and fled. The English purfued, and entered the town along with them. The inhabitants, who were thrown into the most dreadful consternation, made a secole refistance, and the castle surrendered before the English artillery had begun to fire. Essex difcovered no less humanity after his victory. than bravery in acquiring it. The town indeed was given up to be plundered by the foldiers, but no cruelty or outrage, fuch as occurs so often in the history of the Netherlands, was permitted to be exercised. The booty was immense, and would have been much greater, if, while the commanders were treating with fome of the principal merchants about a ranfom for the merchant ships, the duke de Medina, who lay with fome troops near the town, had not given orders for fetting them on fire. It was computed that, in military and naval stores, merchant goods, and fhips, the lofs which Philip and his subjects fustained on this occasion, could not amount to less than twenty millions of ducats. Had the advice of the earl of Essex been followed, the English would have attempted to retain possession of the town, but lord Howard and the other commanders regarded his propofal as chimerical. They believed that they had already fulfilled the queen's intentions: they dreaded 11

dreaded the approach of a Spanish army, and BOOK therefore they made hafte to put their plunder on board their ships, and immediately set fail for England.

THE affront which Philip received on this Destruction occasion, in having one of his capital towns nish fleet facked and plundered, conflituted a confider- Ireland. able part of his calamity, as it leffened exceedingly the opinion entertained of his prudence, as well as of his internal strength. This confideration, joined to an impatient defire of taking vengeance on Elizabeth, determined him, without regard to the approach of winter, to carry his plan of invading Ireland into immediate execution. By the arrival of his Plate fleet from America, he was enabled to equip, in Lisbon and other places, a hundred and twenty-eight ships of war and transports, with fourteen thousand troops on board, besides a great number of Irish Catholics, and a prodigious quantity of military stores, and materials and instruments for building forts. This fleet, under the command of Don Martin de Padilla. fet fail from Ferrol in the month of November: and if it had reached the destined port, the Spaniards, with the affiltance of the Popish inhabitants, must have acquired so firm an establishment in Ireland, as would have cost the VOL. III. English

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English many years, and much expence of labour and blood, to disposses them.

ELIZABETH and her subjects, slushed with their success at Cadiz, were as secure as if the wound which they had lately inslicted on Philip's naval power had been mortal. They had no suspicion of his design, and were entirely ignorant of his preparations; but the good providence of Heaven interposed remarkably on this occasion, as it had done formerly, in their behalf. The Spanish sleet was overtaken by a storm off Cape Finisterre, and about forty ships, with their crews and stores, were lost. Padilla got back with difficulty to Ferrol; and henceforth all thoughts of the intended enterprise were laid aside.

The battle of Turn-hout.

THESE calamities were succeeded by another no less disastrous event, which happened in the Netherlands in the beginning of the year one thousand five hundred and ninety-seven. The fertile provinces of Brabant still lay exposed to the incursions of the confederates; and the inhabitants, in order to save the country and villages from being sacked and plundered, had been obliged to submit to contributions, with which the United States were enabled to main-

Grotius, lib. v. p. 269. Camden, p. 730. Carte,

tain the garrisons of Breda, Gertrudenberg, and Book other places. The archduke, folicitous to deliver the people from these oppressions; had cantoned between four and five thousand horse and foot in the open town of Turnhout, which, on account of its neighbourhood to Breda, he judged to be the fittest situation for watching the motions of the enemy; and he had given the command of these forces to the count de Varas, brother to the marquis of Varambon.

PRINCE Maurice having received intelligence that Varas had been intrusted with this command more on account of his rank and family, than his military skill, resolved to avail himself of this imprudence, into which the archduke had been betrayed. With great fecrecy and expedition he drew together an army of five thousand foot and eight hundred horse, and fet out from Gertrudenberg with a delign to attack the Spaniards in their quarters of cantonment. Varas was informed of his intention only on the evening before, and was determined, in contradiction to the remonstrances of some of his officers, to retire to the town of Herentals. He accordingly fent off the baggage in the night, and began his march by day-break, without the found either of drum

Of the name of De Rie in Franche Compté.

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or trumpet. His troops, almost all of whom were experienced veterans, were at first indignant at the thoughts of slying from an enemy whom they had often conquered; but the dread with which their general was actuated, soon diffused itself into every breast, and begot a conviction, that their preservation depended on the celerity of their retreat.

MAURICE was only a few miles from Turnhout when his fcouts informed him of the count's departure. He immediately fent Sir Francis Vere with a party of horse to scour the woods and hedges, and dispatched another party under count Hohenloe, to retard the Spaniards on their march till the infantry should arrive. Besides count Hohenloe and Sir Francis Vere, the prince had brought with him count Solmes, Sir Robert Sidney, governor of Flushing, and feveral others of his bravest and most experienced officers, by whom all his orders were executed with equal prudence and intrepidity. Count Hohenloe, at the head of four hundred horse, began the attack, and quickly routed the Spanish cavalry, who, being driven back upon the foot, threw them into diforder. At this crisis, Maurice himself and Sir Francis Vere came up, and having broken through the enemy's ranks, completed their confusion, and made dreadful havoc among them, till the greatest

greatest part of them were either put to the BOOK sword or taken prisoners. Varas himself was killed, after having given proofs, that his mifconduct had not proceeded from the want of personal bravery, but from the consciousness of his inexperience, and his folicitude for the prefervation of his troops. Above two thousand were flain, and five hundred taken prisoners, while the victors loft only nine or ten.

IT was in this engagement that a practice invented by Maurice was first introduced, of arming the cavalry with carabines inflead of lances; and to this invention, which filled the enemy with amazement, Grotius ascribes the great facility with which they were overpowered; for the victory was gained entirely by the horse, and the infantry arrived only in time to divide the spoil.

THE battle of Turnhout, through the great disparity between the numbers of the slain on the opposite sides, contributed more to exalt the character of Maurice, than any of his former atchievements. Nor was it military renown only which he acquired; he gave a striking proof likewise of his humanity in his treatment of the prisoners, whom he protected from all injury and violence with the utmost care, and many of whom recovered through the ten-

der

der attention which he bestowed. He sent the body of count Varas to the archduke; and Albert on that occasion assured him, that he would follow his generous example, and take effectual pains to prevent all cruelty and outrage in the further prosecution of the war.

The furprife of Amiens.

The loss which Albert sustained in the battle of Turnhout was soon afterwards compensated by his acquisition of Amiens, the capital of Picardy, and one of the strongest and most important towns in France. The citizens, who had been zealous partisans of the league, had lately submitted to the King, upon condition that all their ancient privileges should be preserved, and in particular, that they should be allowed to guard the town themselves, and not be obliged to admit a garrison of mercenary troops.

The number of those who were enrolled for bearing arms was between fourteen and fifteen thousand; but neither their discipline nor their vigilance corresponded to the danger to which they were exposed from the neighbourhood of the Spaniards. They gave the same attention to their ordinary occupations as in the time of

Grotius, lib. vi. ab initio. Thuanus, lib. exviii. c. v. Bentivoglio, part iii. lib. iii.

peace; only a few were employed as centinels BOOK and guards, and even these performed their duty in the most negligent manner.

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Or this negligence, Portocarrero, governor of Dourlens, a brave and enterprising officer, had received intelligence from one of the citizens, and he founded upon it a plan for taking the city by furprife. Having communicated this plan to the archduke, and obtained his approbation, he collected from the neighbouring garrisons about three thousand horse and foot, which he judged to be fufficient to carry it into execution s. On the eleventh of March, he fet out from Dourlens in the beginning of the night, and before fun-rife arrived at an hermitage about a quarter of a mile from Amiens. As foon as he perceived that the gate which lay next him was opened, he fent forward ten or twelve of the most resolute of his foldiers, with three officers, called d'Ognano, La Croix, and Del Acro, difguifed like the peasants of that country with long frocks, under which each of them had a brace of pistols and a sword concealed. Three of this

He had been banished on account of some crime.

They consisted of eleven hundred Spaniards, five hundred Burgundians and Germans, four hundred Irish, two hundred Walloons, and nine hundred horse.

party carried bags filled with nuts and apples. One of them drove a waggon loaded with large beams, and the rest followed slowly at a little distance. When the three first had passed the pallisades and approached the gate, one of them fell down, as by accident, and scattered the nuts and apples; and while the guards, making game of the supposed peasant, were fcrambling for the fruit, the waggon was driven under the gate. There it stopped, and Del Acro, by pulling an iron pin, quickly disengaged the horses. He then fired a pistol, which was the fign agreed upon, and he, and those who were with him, falling with great fury upon the guard, killed most of them, and made themselves masters of the gate. The centinel upon the top of the gate-way, perceiving what had paffed, attempted to let down the portcullis; but it was suspended by the beams and the waggon; and Portocarrero in the mean time brought forward his troops, and rushed into the town. The citizens, entirely unprepared for this fudden attack, were overwhelmed with aftonishment and conster-Their resistance was feeble and illnation. conducted; and, after about a hundred of their number had fallen, they laid down their arms, and fuffered the enemy to take possession of the town.

THE news of this disaster affected the French BOOK monarch in the most sensible manner, and greatly allayed the joy which his late triumph Henry'sdife over the League was calculated to excite. He tres on confidered, that the Spaniards were, before fion. this time, in possession of Calais, one of the principal fea-ports in his dominions; and that by their present conquest they had opened a passage from the Netherlands, by which they could make incursions to the gates of the capital. He was mortified by reflecting on the judgment which foreign nations must form of a prince, whose glory consisted chiefly in victories obtained over his own fubjects; and he dreaded, that the malcontents in his kingdom might take advantage of the present calamity, and rekindle the flames of civil war. He had laboured for some time under bad health; notwithstanding which, he broke off a course of medicine which had been prescribed to him, and fet out immediately for Corbie on the Sommeh, where, after confulting with the marshal Biron and some other principal officers, he refolved to postpone every other object of his attention to the recovery of Amiens. He then ordered Biron to invest the town with such forces as he could draw from the neighbouring

garrisons,

h About three leagues higher than Amiens.

garrisons, and returned to Paris to hasten the preparations necessary to insure success.

The flege of Amiens.

HENRY knew that the most vigorous exertion of his activity was requifite on this occasion, and he laboured with unceasing ardour, till, befides raifing a numerous army, he had collected, from every quarter of his dominions, provifions and military stores proportioned to the difficulty of his intended enterprise. He concluded at this time a new alliance with the Queen of England and the States of Holland, in consequence of which the former sent him four thousand troops, and the latter furnished him with a confiderable fum of money, befides engaging to make a powerful diversion of the Spanish forces in the Netherlands. Having fent off his troops to Amiens before him, as fast as they were raised, he found on his return thither in the beginning of June, that the siege was already far advanced. Biron, prompted by his natural ardour, and piqued by a faying which had dropt from the King, that his affairs almost never prospered where he was not present, had exerted the most indefatigable vigilance and industry. He had rendered the blockade complete, by drawing strong lines of circumvallation round the town, and had begun to make his approaches to the walls. Henry approved highly

highly of every thing that he had done, and in BOOK order to pacify his resentment, suffered him still to retain the chief command.

As the number of the troops was confiderably augmented by those which the King had brought with him, and by the arrival of the English forces, the operations of the fiege were carried on with redoubled ardour and alacrity; but the progress of the affailants was retarded greatly beyond what had been expected, by the invincible bravery and unremitted vigilance of the governor and garrison, who disputed every inch of ground with matchless intrepidity, and in the numberless fallies which they made, put some thousands of the besiegers to the sword.

By these sallies their own number was considerably diminished, and in one of them Portocarrero was killed. The defence however was still conducted with the same skill and spirit as before by the marquis de Montenegro, a Neapolitan of the family of Caraffa, and the King had reason to despair of being able to finish his enterprise before the arrival of the Spanish army from the Netherlands.

THE archduke was fensible that it was of Albert atgreat importance to Philip's interest to preserve vain to re possession

possession of Amiens, whether he should enter into a treaty of peace with the French monarch, or profecute the war; and he could not have exerted himfelf with greater activity in making the preparations necessary to raise the siege. But his levies, as well as all his other preparations, had been carried on flowly, through the extreme difficulty which he found in procuring money. The destruction of the fleet and stores at Cadiz had contributed not a little to increase that diforder which had fo long prevailed in the King's finances. For feveral years Philip had been in the practice of borrowing large fums from the Italian and Flemish merchants. for which he had agreed to pay them an exorbitant interest, and had mortgaged certain branches of his revenue. The inconveniences arising from thence had become intolerable. and he was determined to deliver himself from them at once, whatever should be the confequence. He had accordingly published an edict in the month of November of the preceding year, declaring all the contracts by which he had fequestered his revenue to be null and void; and alleging, as an excuse for this step, that, through the unfair advantages which had been taken of his diffress, he had reason to dread, that, unless some remedy were immediately applied, all his labours in behalf

PHILIP II. KING OF SPAIN.

of Christendom and the true religion would B o o be loft!

PHILIP had as little reason to be satisfied with the prudence, as with the justice, of this expedient. His annual revenue, though now freed from all incumbrances, was infufficient to defray the enormous expence of the prefens war. It was still necessary for him, while the war continued, to borrow money; but no merchants either in Genoa or Antwerp, where it had been usually found, could be persuaded to advance it; and it was this cause chiefly which had fo long retarded the archduke's preparations for the relief of Amiens.

THE blockade of that city had been formed surrender in April, and it was the end of August before he could begin his march. At that time he fet out with an army of more than five and twenty thousand men, and arrived within fight of the French camp about the middle of September. As his infantry was greatly superior to that of the enemy, he refolved to offer battle; and from the well-known temper of the French monarch, he doubted not that his challenge would be accepted. But Henry being diftrustful of his infantry, the greatest part of which

Grotius, lib. v.

confifted

confifted of raw troops, readily complied with the advice of the duke de Mayenne, whom he had brought with him to the fiege, and refolved to remain within his lines. The archduke advanced towards him, with his army drawn up in order of battle; but when he perceived that the king's refolution was unalterably fixed, that he was well prepared for his defence, and that his entrenchments were every where strongly fortified, he despaired of being able to effectuate his purpose, and returned to the Netherlands. In a few days after his retreat, the marquis de Montenegro, with the approbation of the archduke, confented to capitulate, and received from Henry the most honourable terms k.

Progress of the war in the Netherlands. During the greatest part of the siege of Amiens, nothing memorable was transacted in the Netherlands; but as the archduke had, in order to fill up his army, almost, drained the provinces of troops, he had no sooner begun his march, than prince Maurice, having affembled between twelve and thirteen thousand horse and soot, laid siege to Rhinberg, and in a sew days obliged it to capitulate, though the garrison amounted to a thousand men. He next reduced the town of Meurs with the same

End of August.

D'Avila, lib. xv. Bentivoglio, part iii. lib. iv.

facility.

facility. After which, having passed the Rhine, BOOK he made himself master of Grol, Brevort, and feveral other places, and then directed his a6th march towards Lingen, the only fortified town which remained in possession of the Spaniards on the north fide of the Rhine. Both the town and caftle of Lingen were commanded by count Frederic of Heremberg, with a garrison of fix or feven hundred men; and the count made, for fome time, a vigorous and spirited defence. But the prince, after his batteries were ready to begin to play, having fent him a fummons to furrender on honourable terms. with an intimation, that as this was the first fummons, fo he might be affured that it would be the last; Heremberg considered, that his

perseverance must be attended with the destruction of the garrison, and therefore agreed to the

terms proposed.

ALL these conquests were atchieved in less than three months. In those of Grol and Brevort, places fituated in a marshy soil, Maurice encountered difficulties which required a vigorous exertion of his fuperior talents to furmount; but as no peculiar or striking circumstances are recorded by the cotemporary historians, I have not thought it necessary to descend to a particular detail. The acquisition of so many frontier towns was of great importance to the

B O O K XXIV. the United Provinces, as they were thereby delivered from the incursions of the Spanish garrisons, by which the inhabitants of the adjacent country had been kept under perpetual alarms; and the States, deeply sensible of this advantage, testified their gratitude to prince Maurice, by conferring on him and on his posterity the rich seignory of Lingen and its dependencies.

r598. Negociations for peace.

THESE transactions happened towards the end of the year one thousand five hundred and ninety-seven; and the following was distinguished by a negociation which was set on foot for the establishment of peace between France and Spain. Neither Philip nor Henry had derived from the war those advantages, by the prospect of which they had been allured, and both of them had powerful motives for defiring that it might be speedily brought to a con-Philip's eyes were now opened to the vanity of those flattering dreams of conquest by which he had been fo long deluded. His acquifitions in France had cost him more than they were worth; and besides the expence of making them, they were much more than counterbalanced by the losses which year after year he had fuffered in the Netherlands. His finances, as has been already mentioned, were in extreme disorder; his credit was ruined by the late violation of his faith; his troops in many places

places of the Low Countries had mutinied BOOK again, on account of their want of pay; and if the war should continue for another campaign, he thought it not improbable that the greater part of them would refuse to march against the enemy. From his advanced age, and broken health, he had reason to believe that his death was not far distant, and he dreaded the fatal consequences which might arise from leaving his son, who was hardly arrived at the age of manhood, involved in war with a prince so powerful and enterprising as the king of France.

1508.

PEACE was no less desirable to Henry than to Philip; those wounds under which his kingdom had bled for fo many years, were still unclosed, and numberless distempers prevailed in almost every quarter, to which no effectual remedy could be applied during the continuance of the war.

WHILE, for these reasons, both princes were Thepope alike desirous of peace, neither of them would between the yield fo far to his antagonist as to be the first monarchs. to propose it. But the sovereign Pontiff, as the father of all Catholic princes, and the common friend of the two contending monarchs, acted the part of mediator between them; and Clement discovered on this occasion, a degree of Vol. III.

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zeal and prudence, which justly entitled him to that high respect in which his character was held by his cotemporaries. At his request, it was agreed by the two Kings, that a congress should be held at Vervins, a town in Picardy, near the confines of Hainault. The presidents de Bellievre and Sillery, were appointed plenipotentiaries by Henry; and Ricardotto and Baptista Tassis, by Philip. Alexander de Medici, the cardinal legate, likewise repaired thither, and in the month of February the conferences were begun.

Opposition to peace by Elizabeth and the States.

THESE conferences were matter of great anxiety to the States of Holland, as they could not doubt that a principal motive which had determined Philip to disengage himself from the war with France, was, that he might be at liberty to employ his whole strength against the confederated provinces. They were not without fuspicions likewise, that the queen of England would embrace the present opportunity of delivering herself from the Spanish war, and were therefore much disquieted at the apprehensions of being left without an ally to support them. But they were soon delivered from their fears with regard to the conduct of Elizabeth, who being entirely convinced that the interest and safety of their infant republic were inseparable from her own, gave them fresh

fresh affurances of the continuance of her friend. B O O K fhip.

THE French monarch no fooner agreed to the Pope's proposal of a congress, than he sent an intimation of it to his allies, and expressed his defire, that, if possible, a general peace might be established, in which they, as well as himself, might be comprehended. But neither Elizabeth nor the States were disposed to listen The latter were well affured to his advice. that no confideration would perfuade Philip to treat with them as a free State, and they were unalterably determined never to acknowledge him for their fovereign. Elizabeth, who had on different occasions experienced the great advantage which she derived from her alliance with them, was no less folicitous than themselves that they should maintain their independence; and she believed, that while they maintained it, she should have no great reason to dread the power of Philip. She was concerned however at the prospect of losing so useful an ally as the king of France, and fent Sir Robert Cecil and Mr. Herbert, who were accompanied by Justin de Nassau and the celebrated Barnevelt, from the States, to remonstrate with Henry against the peace.

THESE able negociators left no argument untouched that could diffuade him from his pur-Y 2 pose :

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pose: they reminded him of the alliance into which he had lately entered with the Queen and the States, and of the assistance which on different occasions they had afforded him. They represented the danger to which he exposed himself by treating with a prince who had given so many striking proofs of insincerity; and they offered to surnish him with a large supply of forces, besides money, and a numerous sleet, for the recovery of Calais, and the farther profecution of the war.

HENRY replied, that no alliance which he had formed with the Queen or the States, could be reasonably interpreted as an obligation on him unnecessarily to prolong the war, which he was perfuaded would foon prove the utter ruin of his kingdom. He expressed in strong terms his gratitude for the friendship which they had fhewn him, and affured them, that no peace which he should conclude with Spain, would prevent him from making a fuitable return. From the manner of life to which he had been so long inured, joined to the provocations which he had received from Philip, they might believe, that it was not an aversion to the war, but the necessity of peace, that had determined him to embrace a measure so repugnant to the inclination of his friends. The diforders which prevailed in his dominions were fuch, that if the

the proper remedies were not applied, they BOOK would foon become incurable, and these remedies could not be applied in the time of war; but peace, he hoped, would quickly restore his kingdom to its native strength and vigour; when, instead of being a burden upon his allies, as he had hitherto been, he would be able, and they should find him willing, not only to repay with interest the obligations which they had laid him under, but to defend and protect them, and the rest of Europe, against the exorbitant ambition of the Spain.

This apology, delivered with that irreliftible force of natural eloquence, by which Henry was eminently diffinguished, made a strong impression upon the minds of the English and Dutch ambassadors; they could not doubt of the truth of what they had heard; and before their departure, they had the candour to acknowledge, that as the peace which he was about to conclude was necessary for France, for it might be found in the iffue highly beneficial to the other European powers. Henry fent ambaffadors to England and Holland to enforce what he had faid on this occasion, and still continued as formerly on terms of cordial friendship both with Elizabeth and the States.

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Conclusion of peace on the 2d of May.

The treaty of peace was soon after brought to the desired conclusion. Several difficulties occurred during the course of the conferences, which were removed through the disinterested zeal and great authority of the Pope and the cardinal legate; and at length, upon Henry's resigning his claim to Cambray, Philip confented, though with great reluctance, to give up Calais, Andres, Dourlens, and all the other towns in France, which he had acquired at the expence of so much blood and treasure.

Philip transfers the Netherlands to Ifabella and Albert. PHILIP had been the more folicitous to put an end to the war, on account of a scheme which he had conceived, after the disappointment of his views in France, of transferring the sovereignty of the Netherlands to his eldest daughter Isabella, whom he intended to give in marriage to the archduke. And to embrace this measure, he was prompted, partly by his affection for the Infanta, one of the most accomplished women of the age, and partly by his esteem for Albert, whom, of all the princes in Europe, he deemed the most worthy of so illustrious an alliance.

¹ At Vervins.

m Bentivoglio, part iii. lib. iv. p. 464. Sully, lib. ix. D'Avila, towards the conclusion. Thuanus, lib. cxx. sec. i. and v.; and Cambden, p. 760, &c. Miniana, lib. x. cap. xii.

Bu'r while his attachment to his daughter BOOK and her future husband made him defirous of procuring for them fome fovereign establishment, he could not, without reluctance, resolve rations on this subject. to separate from the body of his empire so rich a portion of his hereditary dominions. the troops and money of the Netherlands, the late Emperor and himself had been greatly indebted for most of their victories over their enemies in France and Germany; and it had been the Netherlands chiefly, which, by their fituation in the heart of Europe, had rendered them formidable to the feveral European powers, and enabled them fo long to maintain the tranquillity of their other dominions. preservation indeed of these provinces had, for many years, proved a perpetual drain for the wealth of the Spanish monarchy; but it was doubtful whether, if they were disjointed from it, they would not be found as great a burden as ever, fince it would still be incumbent on the King to support the archduke in his new fovereignty, against the attempts of his enemies in the revolted provinces.

THESE confiderations were urged with great warmth by the count de Fuentes, in order to diffuade Philip from the profecution of his defign. But some others of his counsellors, and particularly the count de Castel-Rodrigo, in Y 4 whom B O O K XXIV. whom he reposed the greatest confidence, were at no less pains to confirm him in it, by reprefenting, that the separation proposed, instead of lessening, would serve to augment the strength and vigour of the Spanish monarchy.

" THE Netherlands lay so remote from the feat of government, and the laws of that country, and the language, character, and manners of the people, were fo extremely different from those of Spain, that it would be for ever found impracticable to preferve them in obedience. Their aversion to a foreign dominion, and especially that of Spain, was insurmountable; the absence and distance of the King had been the cause of that inveterate rebellion which had furnished employment to his armies for almost forty years, and no other effectual means could be devised either to reconcile the provinces which had already revolted, or to prevent the rest from imitating their example, but to give them a fovereign of their own, who, by refiding among them, might conciliate and fecure their affections. It was true, that, without the affistance of the queen of England, the rebels must long ere now have laid down their arms; but if with the feeble aid which they had received from a Queen engroffed with domestic cares, and tottering on her throne, they had been able for fo many years not only to defend

fend themselves, but to carry on an offensive 3 00 K fuccessful war, how much reason was there to dread the consequences that must follow, if the British crowns were united, as they would foon be, on the head of a prince in the vigour of life, who being free from the embarrassments of a disputed title, would have full leisure to give attention to foreign affairs? From jealoufy of the King, the neighbouring princes would never cease to support the rebellion, and foment the discontents of his Flemish subjects; but if the Netherlands were disunited from the Spanish monarchy, and erected into a separate and independent state, the cause of that jealoufy would be removed; it would become the interest of France and Britain, and the other neighbouring powers, to lend their assistance to extinguish the war; and even the revolted states would, in order to secure internal tranquillity, chuse to return to their ancient union with the fouthern provinces,"

abdication.

By these arguments, which coincided with His deed of Philip's inclination, he was confirmed in his defign; and on the fixth of May, he figned the deed of abdication; in which, after declaring his resolution to give the Infanta in marriage to the archduke, he refigned the fovereignty of the Netherlands, and of the county of Burgundy, to that princess, to be enjoyed conjunctly

B O O K XXIV. by her and her future husband; and after their decease, by the heirs of the marriage, whether male or female, according to the established rules of hereditary succession.

Bur it was provided, that in case this fovereignty should devolve to a female, she should marry either the King or the prince of Spain; That neither any prince nor princess descended from the Infanta, should marry without the confent of the king of Spain; and that in default of iffue, the Netherlands should be reunited to the Spanish monarchy. By other articles, it was flipulated that the new fovereigns should prevent their subjects from trading to the Indies; that they flould, before their admission, take an oath to permit the exercise of no other religion but the Catholic, within their dominions; and in case they should fail in the execution of this, or any other article, it was declared that the fovereignty transferred should immediately return to the crown of Spain.

How received in the Netherlands. This deed was immediately transmitted to the archduke; and soon afterwards the States of the southern provinces agreed to accept of the archduke and the Infanta for their sovereigns, with the conditions which the deed contained; being well pleased to be delivered, as they expected to be, from the yoke of Spain, which which they had found fo grievous and into- BOOK lerable.

But although this event gave great fatisfaction to the people subject to the Spanish government, it was not likely to produce any change in the fentiments or conduct of their neighbours in the United Provinces. The new fovereigns, faid the confederates, whom Philip has appointed, will be fovereigns in name only and appearance, but not in reality. They will be utterly unable to support themselves without the affiftance of the Spanish arms. They will depend on Spain, as much as any Spanish governor or regent; and the Spaniards will still continue to exercise, as formerly, an unlimited influence in the government. In the deed of abdication, the Netherlands are treated, not as a free and independent state, but as a fief of the Spanish monarchy; and from the advanced age of the Infanta m, together with the conditions of the deed of abdication, it was evident that the present measure could be meant only as a temporary expedient, intended to amuse the people of the fouthern provinces, and not as a fixed and permanent establishment. But whatever was the King's intention in this meafure, and whether the fovereignty now trans-

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ferred,

B O O K XXIV. ferred, should or should not return to the crown of Spain, it was the unalterable resolution of the United Provinces to maintain their liberty, in opposition to whatever attempts might be made to deprive them of it by the king of Spain, or the archduke of Austria.

ALBERT was in the mean time employed in preparing to fet out for Madrid; but having been detained in the Low Countries much longer than he expected, by a new mutiny of his troops, he had just begun his journey when he received intelligence of the death of the King.

Iliness and death of Philip. For more than two years this prince had been extremely afflicted with the gout; to which had been lately added, a hectic fever, and a dropfy. Finding his strength so much decayed, that he could not expect to live above a sew weeks, he ordered his attendants to transport him from Madrid to the Escurial; and when his physicians signified to him their apprehensions, that he would not be able to endure the satigue: "But I am resolved," he answered, "to accompany my funeral to my tomb." Upon his arrival at the Escurial, the gout returned with double violence both in his

[&]quot; Van Meteren, Grotius, &c.

feet and hands; and foon afterwards, feveral BOOK imposthumes gathered in his knees and breast, which occasioned the most excruciating pain. He was in some measure relieved by laying the imposthumes open. But another more intolerable diffress succeeded. The matter of his fores was of the most purulent and nauseous nature, and fwarms of lice were engendered in it, from which no application, and no care or pains, could deliver him. In this dreadful condition, he lay in a fupine posture, for more than fifty days; during which time he exhibited a striking display of patience, firmness of mind, and refignation to his fate. He gave proof of the fincerity of his religious profession, by practifing, with great zeal and affiduity, those superstitious observances, which the church of Rome prescribes, as the means of procuring acceptance with the Deity. He seemed inclined likewife to make atonement for fome feverities which he had exercised, and ordered several prisoners to be released, and their effects reflored o.

ABOUT two days before his death, having fent for his fon, and his daughter Isabella, he discoursed to them of the vanity of human greatness, delivered many falutary counsels for

Among these was the wife of Antonio Perez.

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the administration of their dominions, and exhorted them with much earnestness, to cultivate and maintain the Catholic faith. When they had left him, he gave directions for his funeral; and ordered his coffin to be brought into his chamber, and placed within his view; foon after which his speech failed, and he expired on the thirteenth of September, in the seventy second year of his age, and the forty-third of his reign.

His charac-

No character was ever drawn by different historians in more opposite colours than that of Philip; and yet confidering the length and activity of his reign, there is none which it should seem would be more easy to ascertain. From the facts recorded in the preceding history, we cannot doubt that he possessed, in an eminent degree, penetration, vigilance, and a capacity for government. His eyes were continually open upon every part of his extenfive dominions. He entered into every branch of administration; watched over the conduct of his ministers with unwearied attention; and in his choice both of them and of his generals, discovered a considerable share of sagacity. He had at all times a composed and settled countenance, and never appeared to be either elated

P Miniana, lib. x. cap. xiv. Thuanus, lib. cxx. fect. xiv.

or depressed. His temper was the most impe-

rious, and his looks and demeanour were haughty and fevere; yet among his Spanish subjects, he was of easy access; listened patiently to their representations and complaints; and where his ambition and bigotry did not interfere, was generally willing to redress their grievances. When we have faid thus much in his praife, we have faid all that justice requires, or truth per-It is indeed impossible to suppose that he was infincere in his zeal for religion. But as his religion was of the most corrupt kind, it ferved to increase the natural depravity of his disposition; and not only allowed, but even prompted him to commit the most odious and shocking crimes. Although a prince in the bigoted age of Philip might be perfuaded that the interest of religion would be advanced by falfehood and perfecution; yet it might be expected, that, in a virtuous prince, the fentiments of honour and humanity would, on fome occasions, triumph over the dictates of fuperstition: but of this triumph, there occurs

not a fingle instance in the reign of Philip; who, without hesitation, violated his most facred obligations as often as religion afforded him a pretence; and under that pretence exercised for many years the most unrelenting cruelty, without reluctance or remorse. His

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ambition, which was exorbitant; his refentment, which was implacable; his arbitrary temper, which would submit to no controul; concurred with his bigoted zeal for the Catholic religion, and carried the sanguinary spirit, which that religion was calculated to inspire, to a greater height in Philip, than it ever attained in any other prince of that, or of any former or succeeding age.

Some historians have distinguished this prince by the title of Philip the Prudent 9, and have represented him as the wifest, as well as the most religious prince, that ever filled the Spanish throne. But it is questionable, whether he be entitled to praise on account of his prudence, any more than on account of his In the beginning of his reign, he discovered great caution in his military enterprises; and, on some occasions, made even greater preparations than were necessary to in-But his ambition, his refentfure fuccess. ment, and his abhorrence of the Protestants were too violent to fuffer him to act conformably to the dictates of found policy and prudence. He might have prevented the revolt of his Dutch and Flemish subjects, if,

4 Eldifcreto.

after

after the reformation in the Netherlands was BOOK suppressed by the dutchess of Parma, he had left the reins of government in the hands of that wife princefs, and had not fent fo odious a tyrant as the duke of Alva to enflave them. He might, after the defeat of the prince of Orange, have rivetted the chains of flavery about their necks, and gradually accustomed them to the yoke; if, by engaging in too many expensive enterprises, he had not exhausted his exchequer, and made it in some measure necessary for Alva to impose the taxes of the tenth and twentieth pennies, for the maintenance of his troops. He might, through the great abilities of the duke of Parma, have again reduced the revolted provinces to obedience, if he had not conceived the wild ambition of fubduing England and acquiring the fovereignty of France. His armies, in the latter part of his reign, were never sufficiently numerous to execute the various enterprifes which he undertook; yet they were much more numerous than he was able to support. Few years past in which they did not mutiny for want of pay. And Philip fuffered greater prejudice from the disorders and devastation which his own troops committed, than he received from the arms of his enemies. Against his attempts on England and France, his wifest counsellors remonstrated in the VOL. III. Z ftrongest

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strongest terms. And prudence certainly required that, previously to any attack upon the dominions of others, he should have secured possession of his own. Yet so great was his illusion, that rather than delay the execution of those schemes which his resentment and ambition had fuggested, he chose to run the risk of losing the fruits of all the victories which the duke of Parma had obtained; and having left defencelefs the provinces which had submitted to his authority, he thereby afforded an opportunity to the revolted provinces, of establishing their power, on so firm a foundation, as could not be shaken by the whole ftrength of the Spanish monarchy, exerted against it for more than fifty years'.

By his first wife, Mary of Portugal, Philip had no other issue but Don Carlos; and by his second, Mary of England, he had none. Isabella, daughter of Henry II. of France, bore him two daughters, Isabella Clara-Eugenia, and Catherine; the former of whom was married to the archduke Albert; and the latter to Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy. His fourth wife, Anne of Austria, daughter of the emperor Ferdinand, and of Philip's own fister Mary, brought him three sons and one daughter, who all died young, except Philip, who succeeded him.

If the reader incline to enter more particularly into the private life and character of Philip, than has been thought proper in the general history of his reign, he will meet with feveral interesting anecdotes, in the prince of Orange's Apology, of which an abstract is subjoined.

APPENDIX;

CONTAINING

ANABSTRACT

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PRINCE OF ORANGE,

PHILIP'S PROSCRIPTION,

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THE prince of Orange begins his Apology, APPEND. which is addressed to the confederated States, with observing, that being conscious of having devoted his life and fortune to the fervice of the Netherlands, it afforded him great joy to reflect upon the testimony given to his fidelity and zeal, in that barbarous Proscription which had been published against him by the king of Spain. "I have reason likewise," continued he, "to rejoice at the opportunity which is thus prefented to me, to vindicate my conduct from those malignant imputations, which have been cast upon it by certain ignoble hirelings; and which are repeated and fet forth in the blackest colours in this Profcription. For I am not accused at this time by any of those obscure libellers, to whom I have ever thought it beneath my dignity to reply; but by a great and powerful prince, who intends, through my fides, to wound, and if possible to destroy, the confederacy. I can with Z 3

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with confidence appeal to you, who are well acquainted with my past life, whether it has ever been my practice, either to praise myself or to censure others. And I must likewise appeal to you and to the world, whether now. when I am accused of ingratitude, infidelity, and hypocrify, compared to a Judas and a Cain, called a rebel, a traitor, a difturber of the public peace, and an enemy to mankind; and when both pecuniary and honorary rewards are promised to those who shall slay or murder me; whether after this the duty which I owe to myself, and to you who have reposed in me fuch unlimited confidence, does not call upon me to fay what I can confistently with truth, to prove the malice and falsehood of my accuser? If you know his representation of my conduct to be just, you will shut your ears against the defence which I am about to offer; but if you have known me from my youth to be more faithful, and chafte, and virtuous, than the Author of this infamous Proscription, I shall expect that you will attend favourably to what I shall advance, and deliver judgment in vindication of my integrity and innocence.

"THE first crime of which I am accused in this Proscription, is ingratitude; and a recital is made of savours bestowed on me by the king himself, and the emperor his father; to the latter latter of whom, it is faid, I owed my fuccession APPEND. to the late prince of Orange; and to the former my having been admitted into the order of the Golden Fleece, and appointed a counfellor of state, and governor of the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Burgundy.

" No man respects more than I do the memory of the emperor, and I reflect with much fatisfaction on the many proofs of attachment which I received from him. But the necessity which I am laid under to vindicate my character, obliges me to observe, that of the fort of favours which are objected to me, I never received any from the emperor, but on the contrary fuffered great loss and prejudice in his. fervice. With respect to my succession to the inheritance bequeathed to me by my cousin, the late prince of Orange, it is impossible to conceive any ground for alleging that I was at all indebted for it to the emperor. My right to that inheritance was indifputable; nor was there ever any prince or private person, who pretended to call in question its validity, Would not the emperor have been justly accused of tyranny and injustice, if he had prevented me from enjoying it? And does my accuser reckon it an instance of goodness in a prince, merely not to defraud and oppress his faithful fubjects?

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" ALL Europe knows what important fervices the emperor received from the prince my kinfman; who commanded his armies, extended his dominions, and died at his feet. Had the emperor employed his power to disappoint the last will of one who had served him with so much fidelity and fuccefs, would he not have involved his name in perpetual infamy? Befides, that even although he had inclined to act a part so unworthy of his character, yet of the most valuable part of that inheritance he could not have deprived me, as it lies within the territory of the king of France, on whom alone I depend for the secure possession of it. But even allowing that what is faid of my obligations to the emperor were true, yet the king of Spain is furely not entitled to reproach me with it; who, in contempt of all law and juftice, has, to the utmost of his power, endeavoured to deprive me of the inheritance in question, and rendered ineffectual that kindness of the emperor, for my unmindfulness of which he accuses me of ingratitude.

"GRATITUDE, in the opinion of this prince, ought not to be confined to the person by whom favours have been bestowed, but ought to extend likewise to his descendants: and it is because I have opposed the son, whose father was my benefactor, that I am deemed ungrateful.

Let

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Let him apply this golden rule to his own con- APPEND. duct, as he has applied it to mine; and he will then perceive which of us is guilty of ingratitude. Maximilian was the first of the family of Austria, who came into the Netherlands. And no person acquainted with history is ignorant of the important obligations which that emperor received from my kinfman count Egelbert of Nassau; by whom he was powerfully supported against Lewis the eleventh of France; by whom the people who had rebelled against him were fubdued; and by whom likewise he recovered his liberty, of which the jealoufy of the Flemings had deprived him. Need I mention what every body knows, of the fervice performed to the late emperor Charles, by count Henry Nassau my uncle, who was in reality the person that prevailed with the electors to confer upon him the Imperial crown? Was it not by the bravery of René, prince of Orange, that the emperor fubdued the dutchy of Guelderland; and by that of Philibert, that he gained possession of Lombardy and Naples, and the person of the pope, and the city and state of Rome? And will his fon pretend to reproach the memory of these great men, by boasting of his father's kindness, in suffering justice to be done to their kinfman? Am I not authorifed from the few facts which I have mentioned, to affert, that had it not been for the houses of

Orange

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Orange and Nassau, which I have the honour to represent, my defamer could not have put so many pompous titles, as are inserted in the beginning of his Proscription?

" By what I have faid, I would not be understood to disclaim every kind of obligation to the emperor. I shall for ever retain a grateful remembrance of the honour which he did me, when, after having taken upon himself the inspection of my education, and kept me nine years about his person, he gave me the important charge of all his ordnance in the Netherlands: and in my absence, without any application made in my behalf, in contradiction to the representations of his courtiers, and in preference to many officers of great experience, appointed me commander in chief of his army, at the age of twenty-one. I reflect with gratitude on that testimony of regard, with which he honoured me at the time of his refignation. when having fent for me from the camp, he gave me a public proof of his affection, by placing me next him, and leaning upon me, to fupport him under the fatigue of that folemnity. I know likewise, that he meant to give me a further proof of his regard, when he imposed upon me the irksome task of carrying the Imperial crown to his brother Ferdinand. But will my enemies pretend to affert, either that I shewed

I shewed myself unworthy of these honours, or APPEND. that my interest and fortune were promoted by 1580. them? Did the troops, when I commanded them, fuffer any repulse or damage? On the contrary, although the plague raged among them, and I had two of the ablest generals of the age, the duke de Nevers and the admiral Coligny, for my opponents; I kept them at bay, and fortified the towns of Charlemont and Philipville, in spite of their most vigorous endeavours to prevent me. While the fervices which I performed corresponded to the trust reposed in me, I can affirm with truth, that honour was the only acquisition which I derived from the favour that was shewn me. From the chamber of accounts it will appear, that I never received any pecuniary recompence for my fervices. I am able to prove by the most incontestible evidence, that my unavoidable expence as general, added to the expence of my embaffy into Germany, and that which I incurred, when the King required me to receive and entertain the numerous foreign nobility, who crowded to congratulate him on his accession, amounted to no less than one million five hundred thousand florins. And to indemnify me for this expence, what return did I receive from the King, who now accuses me of ingratitude? Having, with the emperor's confent, begun to affert my claim to the lordship

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of Chatel Bellin, before the supreme court of justice at Mechlin; when the counsellors had registered their opinion, and on the day when they were to have pronounced sentence in my favour, this King, who had just sworn to govern us according to the laws, did, in violation of these laws, interpose his arbitary power, and forbid the judges to proceed; nor since that time, have they been ever permitted to do me justice.

" WHEN what I have faid shall be considered, the governments which were bestowed on me will not appear to be more than was due for the fervices which I have performed; nor more than an adequate compensation for that extraordinary expence, which these services had cost me. Had the King allowed me to remain in possession of these governments, he might have had some reason for reproaching me; although it was not in reality to him I was indebted for them, but to the emperor, by whom it was determined they should be conferred upon me, before his departure from the Netherlands. But fince my accuser has laboured to expel me from them; fince he has, to the utmost of his power, deprived me of my possessions, besides carrying off my fon to Spain, in contempt of the privileges of this country, which he had fworn to preferve inviolate, because I would

not

not lend myfelf a willing instrument of his op- APPEND pression; after this, I say, is he intitled to accuse me of ingratitude?

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" Non is there any better ground for his accusation, that I have violated the allegiance. which I owed him as my fovereign. Though I have rejected his authority, yet I have done nothing more than was done by his ancestor, Albert duke of Austria, the founder of his family, against my ancestor, the emperor Adolphus of Nassau. And besides this, I should gladly know by what title my accuser possesses his Castilian dominions? Did not his predeceffor Henry of Castile, a bastard, rise in rebellion against his brother Pedro, his lawful fovereign, whom he killed with his own hand? And is not Philip the lineal heir of that usurper? It may be faid, that Pedro was a tyrant, and therefore justly dethroned and slain. And may not the same plea be offered in excuse for the part which I have acted? May it not be faid with truth of Philip, that his conduct has been that of a cruel tyrant; and that the cruelties exercised by Pedro, were much less shocking and horrible, than those which have been perpetrated by the duke of Alva and his affociates? I must farther observe, that as king of Spain, I owe him no fubmission, but only as duke of Brabant. And as he is duke of that province,

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province, I, by reason of the baronies which 1. hold there, am one of the principal members of it. But he has forgotten the conditions on which he received this dukedom. He has forgotten the folemn oath which he took to preferve our privileges; and that it is an express article of the compact betwixt us, that if he fail in his engagements, our obligation to obey him as our fovereign shall cease. All Europe has witneffed his open contempt of these engagements. All Europe will bear me witness, when I fay, that not a fingle privilege only, but every privilege of which we boafted, and which he had fworn to maintain, has been violated; and not in a fingle instance only, but in a thousand instances. In my own person, as I have already hinted, I have had ample experience of his lawless tyranny: my fon, at an age when he was incapable of offending him, has been torn from me. All my estates and goods have been confiscated; and I myself declared a traitor and rebel, without any of those forms of trial which the laws require; and by whom? By men of the lowest class vested with his authority, by pettifoggers, and others too mean to be employed as pages, by one who holds the rank, which I have long held in the Netherlands. I do not deny, that at his acceffion I took the customary oath of allegiance; but the tie on me to yield obedience, and that

on him to afford protection, were mutual; and APPEND. it is a dictate of common sense, that in obligations of this fort, the failure of either party fets the other free from his engagements.

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" But even if I had not received any perfonal injury, I should have thought myself indispensably obliged to oppose the tyrannical measures which were pursued. For it is not the prince only who fwears to maintain the fundamental laws. The same oath is required of the nobles, and of all who are admitted into public employments. By this oath I was ftrictly bound to do every thing in my power to rescue my fellow-citizens from the oppresfions under which they groaned, and, had I not done what my enemy complains of, I should have been justly chargeable with the crime, of which all the world knows that he has been guilty, a breach of the most facred and folemn obligation.

" To this imputation, I know that his partifans are ready to reply, that although he fwore at his accession to maintain our privileges, yet the pope had granted him a dispensation from his oath. I leave it to divines and others, better acquainted than I am with religious controversies, to determine, whether this arrogance of the pope, in affuming power to fet men free

from

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from the obligation of an oath, be not an impious encroachment on the prerogative of Heaven, and I leave it to them to determine, whether this pretention is not destructive of faith among men, and fubverfive of fociety. I fpeak not therefore of the lawfulness of Philip's conduct, after having obtained this boafted difpenfation, but of his folly in applying for it. The tie between him and his subjects was strictly mutual; and by procuring a dispensation for himself, he at the same time set me, and all his other fubjects, free from the engagements which we came under to yield him obedience. It is childish and trifling to say, that by means of the dispensation he is free, but that we who have not been difpenfed with, are still as much bound as ever. For from the moment that he confiders himself as disengaged (by what means foever his obligation was diffolved), the condition on which we promifed obedience being removed, it must be absurd to reproach us with infidelity.

I COME now to that part of the Profcription, in which I am accused of having been the author of all the disturbances that have happened. With such of you as are old enough to remember the rise of these disturbances, there will be no need to desend myself against so groundless an imputation; but for the sake of those who were too young at that time to APPEND. form a judgment of what they faw, it is necessary I should give some account of those transactions, which are fo grossly misrepresented in this infamous profeription. 201 of mid beliving among by which you were all to have then then

" No person acquainted with the conduct of my accuser in his other dominions, or with the cruelties exercised in Granada, Mexico, and Peru, will be at a loss to account for the calamities with which the people of the Low-Countries have been overwhelmed. In the very beginning of his reign, his despotic temper was conspicuous. The emperor his father faw it with deep concern, and when the count de Bossut, and I, and several others were prefent, he exhorted him to treat his Flemish subjects with greater moderation; and foretold, that if the pride and arrogance of his Spanish counsellors were not restrained, the people of the Netherlands would ere long be excited to revolt. But this wholesome council had not the effect which the Emperor intended. His fon still consulted only with Spaniards; he still fostered as much as ever his passion for arbitrary power; and refolved, in contradiction to his interest, if rightly understood, as well as to his oath, to overturn our conflictution. condition annexed to your grant of the nine years supply, that the money should be disposed Vot. III.

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of by your own commissioners, excited in himand in his counsellors, the most inveterate re-I have been present when these sentment. counfellors, who knew well their mafter's fentiments, advised him to the pursuit of measures. by which you were all to have been adjudged to death. But it was by accident I came to know that these bloody councils had been adopted. From the French King's own mouth, when I resided at his court as an hostage, I learnt that a plan had been concerted with the duke of Alva, to extirpate from France and the Netherlands all who were suspected of being favourably inclined to the reformed religion. I concealed from the French monarch my ignorance of the defign; and the indignation which it excited in me. By the intercession of the dutchess of Savoy, I obtained leave to return into the Netherlands, where (I deny it not, on the contrary I glory in it) I promoted with all my influence that earnest request, which the States preferred to the King for the removal of the Spanish troops.

"I ACKNOWLEDGE, that amidst the numberless falsehoods with which this prescription is filled, there is truth in another part of the charge which is laid against me. I acknowledge, that after having remonstrated in vain to the dutchess of Parma, against the cruel and arbitrary

arbitrary measures that were pursued; being APPEND prompted by my dread of a civil war, by my concern for the calamities of the people, and by a fense of duty arising from the oath which I had fworn to maintain their rights, I called together the principal nobility, and attempted to open their eyes to the impending danger.

" I ACKNOWLEDGE likewife, that I approved of the fupplication, which was prefented by the nobility, against the placarts and executions. I am far from being either ashamed, or forry, forthe counsel which I gave. That supplication was not only the most moderate measure that could have been devised, but was strictly conformable to the conflitution and practice of the Netherlands; and happy had it been for the King, as well as for the people, had he complied with the request which it contained.

"WITH respect to that part of the profcription, in which my accuser reproaches me, on account of the favours which I have shewn to the Protestants; I confess, that before I embraced the reformed religion, I never hated those who professed it. Nor will this appear furprifing, when it is considered that my mind had been early tinctured with its principles, and that my father, who had established it in his dominions, lived and died in the profession

APPEND. of it. I confess, that even while, in confe-1580. ' quence of my education at the emperor's court, I held the Catholic persuasion, I always abhorred the barbarities which were exercised by the Popish inquisitors. I confess, that at the time of the King's departure from Zealand, when he commanded me to put to death certain persons attached to the Protestant faith, I refused to obey, and gave these persons private warning of the danger to which they were exposed. I confess, that, in the Council of State, I made all the opposition in my power to the perfecutions that were proposed; partly from motives of compassion or humanity, partly from my conviction of the abfurdity of punishing men for opinions which they could not change, when they did not diffurb the public tranquillity; and partly from a perfuasion, that the violent remedies employed were calculated to disappoint the end in view. But while, for these reasons, I was from the beginning averse to perfecution; you all know that I had no concern, either in the introduction of the reformed religion into the Netherlands, or in the rapid progress which it made during the government of the dutchess of Parma. know, that at that time I possessed not the fmallest influence with those, by whom it was introduced and propagated; and you likewise know, that with regard to those disorders, into which

which the Protestants suffered their zeal to be- APPEND tray them, fo far from giving them my countenance or approbation, I exerted my authority to restrain them; I punished the perpetrators with feverity, and have been, on account of the rigour which I exercised, by many among the Protestants, most cruelly calumniated and defamed.

I HOPE to be excused, on this occasion, for observing that there is one circumstance in the profcription, that gives me pleasure. Notwithftanding the malice and rancour, and contempt of truth which my accuser has discovered, there is one crime, often laid to the charge of the governors of provinces, of which he has not ventured to accuse me: I mean that of avarice, or the embezzlement of the public money. Of this despicable crime, indeed, I have been accused by some unknown persons, in certain defamatory writings that have been circulated. But from the filence observed on this head by my inveterate enemy, these libellers may fee the folly, as well as falfehood, of their infinuations. To you there can be no occasion to vindicate my conduct. I give thanks to God, that I learnt, at an early period, of how much consequence it was for one who governs a free people, not only to preserve himfelf untainted, but even to keep himself free from

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from the suspicion of corruption. And you know, that on this account I have constantly declined taking any charge of the public money; and from the beginning of my administration, have transferred both the collection and distribution of it to others.

" I AM accused in the proscription, of having practifed to return into Holland, by undertaking to defend the people from the tax of the tenth penny, which, it is faid, was imposed upon them by the duke of Alva, without the King's confent; and I am accused likewise of having perfecuted and expelled the Catholics. If, by practifing, my accuser means that I solicited for liberty to return, there is as little truth in this, as in his other affertions. I myfelf was most earnestly solicited; and I am ready to shew letters which I received, not only from the governors of towns, but from the citizens, intreating me to come and deliver them from the tyranny of the Spaniards. And, in complying with these entreaties, what did I do that my duty did not require from me? attempted to deliver from flavery, the provinces which had been committed to my care; whose liberties I had fworn to maintain; and of the right to govern which the King had no power, without the consent of the States, to deprive me.

"No part of this profcription gives me APPEND. greater surprise, than that in which I am accused of persecution. It is impossible but even the Romanists themselves must bear witness to the falfehood of so injurious an imputation. No person in the Netherlands can be ignorant, that far from employing rigour, I have often argued and remonstrated against it, and have promoted lenity in the treatment of the Catholics to the utmost of my power. Of this, even my accuser himself seems to make an indirect acknowledgment. I feigned, he fays, that the persecution of the Catholics displeased me. But how does he know that I feigned? Have not my actions been at all times open? Why does he not judge from them of my intention? Never had one person less ground for accusing another of any crime, than my accuser has to cast on me the imputation of hypocrify. Did I, either before, or at the time when he conferred these obligations upon me, for which he has reproached me with ingratitude; did I ever offer the incense of flattery, either to himself or to the dutchess of Parma, or his tools and confidents in the council? On the contrary, did I not openly, and without disguise, condemn the measures which he had dictated, and which they purfued? Was it possible for me to speak more plainly than I did, or to give a clearer testimony of my aversion to his designs,

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than by desiring him, as I did frequently, to suffer me to resign my governments, because it was not in my power to yield him the obedience which he required? Such was my conduct before my departure into Germany; and since that time, is there a single step of my conduct that will admit of the interpretation of hypocrist? Did I not openly solicit aid from the German princes to oppose him? Have I not raised armies against him; taken towns which he possessed; repulsed his forces, and expelled him utterly from at least two of the provinces, over which he tyrannized? Is there any thing in this that can be termed hypocrist?

"But my accuser will not find it so easy to vindicate his own conduct from this odious imputation. Read my defence which I published some years ago; and you will perceive to which of us belongs the appellation of hypocrite and deceiver. In that defence, there are copies of letters which I received from him, filled with professions of friendship and regard, at the very time when, as appears from the sequel, he had doomed me to destruction.

"But why should I expect to be dealt with equitably, by one whose conscience allows him to affirm, that his minister the duke of Alva imposed the tax of the tenth penny, and urged the

the levying of it with fuch inflexible obiti- APPEND. nacy, without his authority or confent? Is it credible that one who knew this King's temper fo well as Alva, and who had ever shewn the greatest folicitude to please him, would have prefumed, by a measure so tyrannical and unprecedented, to run the risk of kindling a civil war? Or, if this wary Spaniard was in reality fo rash and presumptuous, can it be believed by any person who considers the important consequences with which his rashness and presumption were attended, that the King would not, long ere this time, have disavowed him, and made him feel the weight of his displeasure? Was not Alva punished for ordering his fon to marry his cousin, rather than another woman, whom he had debauched under a promise of marriage? Was not this old fervant banished for this venial transgression, from his master's presence, and thrown into prison, from which he would never have been delivered, if one better qualified to tyrannize over the Portuguese could have be found in Spain? And what opinion must we form of a King, who, for this private offence, could punish an ancient friend and servant with fo much feverity; while, notwithstanding the crime of treason, the most public and notorious, and productive of the most dreadful calamities to his faithful subjects, he not only suffered him to pass unpunished, but received him with

with open arms, and loaded him with honours? After this, will he still employ the language of a good King, and boast of his affection for his people?"

In a great part of what remains of this Apology, the prince of Orange enters into a detail of the transactions recorded in the preceding history. I shall therefore pass over this, and set before the reader what relates to the reproach, which Philip casts on William's marriage with the daughter of the duke de Montpensier, who was the princess of Orange at the time of publishing the proscription.

" My accuser," continues he, " is not satisfied with faying every thing that can blacken my character, and render it odious to the world; but he has likewise attempted to taint the honour of my wife. He fays, "that I have infamously married a religious woman, solemnly bleffed by the hands of the bishop, in contradiction to the laws of Christianity, and of the Romish church, and that I did so whilst my marriage subsisted with another woman." Though this affertion were strictly true, it would ill become this incestuous and adulterous King to accuse me. But you know that it is entirely without foundation. My marriage with my former wife, now dead, did not fubfift,

fift, and the ground of her divorce was approved even by the doctors of the Roman church; and by those illustrious princes to whom she was allied. My present wife was not, even by the rules of the popish church, a religious woman, in the fense made by my accuser. The duke of Montpensier, my father-in-law, who is fincerely attached to the Catholic communion (not as cardinal Granvelle, and other Spanish ministers, from interest, but from principle and conviction), spared no pains to put the lawfulness of his daughter's marriage beyond doubt or controversy. He found it the clear opinion, not only of the principal persons in the parliament of Paris, but of several bishops and doctors whom he consulted, that even if a promise of celibacy had been given by my wife, yet, in confideration of her youth, it would not have been binding, as it would have been contrary to the rules of the Gallican church, to the decrees of the high court of justice in France, and even to the ordinances of the councils of Trent, to which my adverfary pays fuch unlimited fubmiffion. He likewife found, that in reality no fuch promife was ever made; that fundry protestations had been taken, to prevent any person from imagining that his daughter ever intended to take the vow; and that, even in her absence, the most undeniable evidence of this had been produced.

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" I said before, that although my marriage were not fo unexceptionable as you fee it is, even by the principles of the church of Rome, it would ill become my accuser to reproach me on account of it. He feems not to have remembered the common maxim, that whoever ventures to accuse another, ought to be well affured that he himself is innocent. And yet is not this King, who has endeavoured to fligmatife my lawful marriage with infamy, the husband of his own niece? It will be faid by his partifans, that he previously obtained a difpensation from the pope. But does not the voice of nature cry aloud against such an incestuous conjunction? And in order to make room for this marriage, is it not true, that he put to death his former wife, the mother of his children, the daughter and fifter of the kings of France? I fay not this, prompted by my refentment, rashly and at random. I affert, that in France there is evidence of the horrid deed of which I now accuse him.

"IT was not a fingle murder that was perpetrated for the fake of this extraordinary marriage. His fon too, his only fon, was facrificed, in order to furnish the pope with a pretext for fo unusual a dispensation; which was granted, in order to prevent the Spanish monarchy from being left without a male-heir.

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This was the true cause of the death of Don Carlos, against whom some misdemeanours were
alleged; but not a single crime sufficient to justify his condemnation, much less to vindicate
a father for imbruing his hands in the blood of
his son. And if Don Carlos was in reality guilty
of crimes deserving death, ought not an appeal
to have been made to us, his suture subjects?
Did the right of judging, and pronouncing
sentence of death against the heir of such extensive dominions, belong to Spanish friars
and inquisitors, the obsequious slaves of the
father's tyranny?

"Bur perhaps this good King made conscience of leaving for his heir a prince, whom he knew to be born in unlawful wedlock. For Philip's marriage with the mother of Don Carlos was not less contrary to the laws of God and man, than that other of which I have already spoken. At the very time when he espoused the princess of Portugal, the mother of Carlos, his marriage fubfifted with Isabella Osorio, by whom he had two fons, Pedro and Bernardino; a marriage brought about by Ruo Gomez de Silva, prince of Evoli, to which that nobleman was indebted for his power and greatness. And besides, is it not well known that this King lived in habitual adultery with another woman, the lady Euphrasia? Did he not com-

pel the prince of Ascoli to take that lady for his wife, when she was big with child by himfelf? And while it has been affirmed with certainty, that that unhappy man was taken off by poison; do not even the Spanish courtiers afcribe his death to the grief which he conceived from the affront to which he was obliged to fubmit, and the cruel necessity imposed on him, of acknowledging for his heir the adulterous baftard of another? Such, and so chaste has been the conduct of this King, who has the affurance to calumniate my lawful marriage as a violation of the facred laws of chaftity.

" But I shall hasten to conclude this Apology, after offering some remarks concerning the nature of the fentence that has been pronounced against me. It is in this part of the edict of profcription, that the compiler, whether the King himself, or some ignoble instrument of his tyranny, has employed all the thunder and lightning of his eloquence. But I thank God, it intimidates me no more, than the anathemas of Clement VII. intimidated my kinsman prince Philibert, when he besieged and took the pontiff prisoner in his castle of St. Angelo, after the proofs which I have given, that I fear not all the power which my adversary is possessed of; and after contending for so many years against his best generals, with numerous armies

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armies under their command, it was weak in APPEND. him to expect to frighten me with the high founding terms of this profcription. I have less reason now, than formerly, to dread the attempts of those abandoned wretches, whom he has endeavoured to instigate against me. For I am not ignorant, that before this time he has bargained with poisoners, and other murderers, to deprive me of my life. He has now given me a public warning of his bloody defign. And with the divine affiftance, and the vigilance of my friends, I trust, that, notwithstanding his diabolical machinations, my life shall be preferved fo long as the prosperity and interest of this people, to whose service I have devoted it, shall require.

" My confidence on this head is greatly augmented by reflecting upon the indignation, which I cannot doubt will be generally excited by that extraordinary method of proceeding against me, which my adversary has adopted. For there is not, I am perfuaded, a nation or prince in Europe, by whom it will not be thought dishonourable and barbarous, thus publicly to authorife and encourage murder; except the Spaniards, and their King, who have been long estranged from every sentiment of honour and humanity. In having recourse to private affaffinations against a declared and open

enemy,

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enemy, does not this mighty monarch confess his despair of being able to subdue me by force of arms? Does he not give a testimony in my behalf, and discover that he dreads the efforts which I may make against him? Is it not weak and mean, to make publicly fo pufillanimous an acknowledgment? But the weakness and meanness of his conduct is not greater than the absurdity of his choice of the rewards, which he holds forth to those who shall execute his bloody purpose. For it is not money only that he offers them, but nobility and honour; as if a regard to honour could influence a man capable of perpetrating a deed held in universal detestation. And if any person already possessed of nobility were to pollute himfelf by fo foul an action, would not his nobility from that moment be annihilated? Would not all fociety and connection with him be held dishonourable?

" Even my adversary himself seems to have been in some measure sensible of the truth of this, and therefore he addresses himself more particularly to criminals and malefactors, as those who are most likely to comply with his request. "And in order," fays he, "that his destruction may be the more effectually and fpeedily accomplished, we, desirous of punishing vice, and rewarding virtue, promise on the

word

word of a king, and as the minister of God, APPEND, that if any person shall be found possessed of courage and public spirit sufficient to animate him to the execution of this decree, and to free us from the aforesaid pest of society, we shall order to be delivered to him, either in land or money as he shall incline, the sum of twenty-five thousand crowns; and if he shall have committed any crime, however enormous, we promise to grant him our royal pardon; and if he be not already noble, we hereby confer nobility upon him, and likewise on all those who shall aid and assist him." Is not this, in plain terms, calling on every desperate wretch, every outcast from society, to affift him in the execution of his defign? No crime, however enormous, but shall be pardoned; no criminal, however detestable, but shall be crowned with honour. Does this king deferve the title which he assumes, of a minister of God, who thus confounds the distinction between vice and virtue; and thus publicly avows his willingness to bestow the highest rewards and honours upon men defiled with the most abominable crimes? Have I not ground to rejoice in being perfecuted by one whose conscience allows him to have recourse to such unhallowed means? And is not such depravity of sentiment in my accuser, a testimony in behalf of my integrity? pava staty sylvanos

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vindicate my character from those false aspersions which are thrown upon it in this proscription. Many things which I might have said,
I have purposely omitted. Had I descended to
a particular account of the cruelty, accompanied
with a contempt of the most sacred obligations,
which has been exercised by my accuser over
this unhappy people, I should never have come
to a conclusion. But with you there can be no
occasion for giving a more particular detail.
You have been spectators of the horrid scene;
and have born your share of those oppressions,
which would sall to be described.

to reflect feriously upon the means to which our enemy finds it necessary to have recourse, in order to accomplish his designs. This infamous proscription, joined to the pains which he and his ministers continually employ to create divisions among the provinces, shews clearly that he now despairs of enslaving us by force of arms, while we remain united.

"IT is indeed against me chiefly, at this time, that his designs are directed. "Were I removed," he says, "either by death or banishment, tranquillity would be restored." You will easily conceive what tranquillity he means,

means, if you call to mind your condition, APPEND. before I returned into the Netherlands, when you groaned under the tyranny of the duke of Alva. Would to heaven that by my banishment or death you could be delivered from your calamities! My enemy should not, in that case, find it necessary to employ poisoners and affasfins to destroy me. You all know how often I have exposed myself to danger in your defence. I leave it to you, to whom alone it belongs, to determine, whether my life and prefence be repugnant or conducive to the interest of the provinces. To you only, and not to the King of Spain, I am accountable for my conduct. You have full authority (and I pledge myself to submit to it) to dispose, as you shall incline, either of my person, or of my life. Interpose that authority with which I acknowledge you to be invested, and give orders either for my departure from among you, or for my death; if you judge either the one or the other for the general good. But if, on the contrary, my past conduct has convinced you, as I trust it has, of the fincerity of my zeal and attachment; or if my long experience gives you confidence in my ability for conducting your affairs, I shall still continue to employ in your fervice, the talents which I possess, hoping that you will liften to the earnest exhortations which I have given you, to maintain harmony and Bb2. concord

concord in the state; and exert yourselves strenuously for the desence of this people, whom you have undertaken to protect; depending on the favour of the Almighty, that your endeavours for this end shall be attended with success."

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